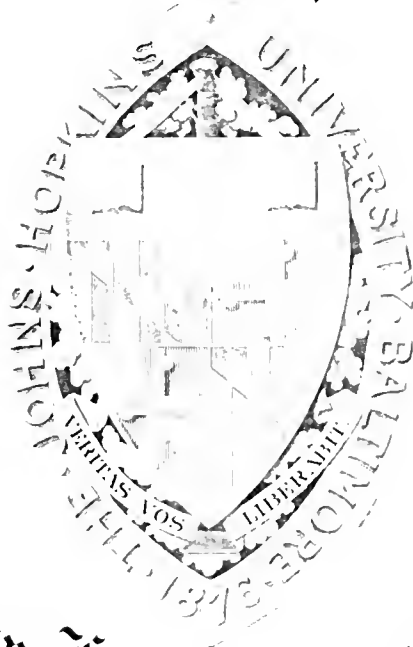




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THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1754 - 1763.

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A Dissertation

submitted to the Board of University Studies  
of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity  
with the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy

by

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Baltimore, Maryland

1920



# THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1754 - 1763

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## F O R E W O R D

The existing material for a study of the Virginia Frontier during the French and Indian War is relatively accessible. The printed sources are of course familiar to the average student. These include the provincial records of the several colonies, particularly Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They are to be found in every important library in the country. In Virginia we have the Journals of the House of Burgesses, the Council records, the colonial laws, the Augusta County records, vestry records, newspaper files, the papers and writings of Washington, letters to Washington, and miscellaneous data in numerous county histories, the Calendar of Virginia State Papers, the Dinwiddie Papers, the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, and other minor historical publications. Unfortunately, there are many gaps in the records that can not be bridged because important materials have been lost or destroyed. For example, Virginia sustained irreparable loss when fire in 1781 destroyed practically all manuscript material bearing on the French and Indian War which was then in the State library. The State archives of Virginia contain no journals or even rough minutes of the council sessions between May 6, 1743, and March 4, 1768.

The manuscript material on the French and Indian War period to be found in Virginia is scattered about in private hands. Occasionally the historian is fortunate enough to discover some of it. Undoubtedly there are some papers held by individuals in adjoining States, but this material is probably negligible.

There are, however, two modern depositories outside the State that hold matter on this period that is vital. The first of these is the Library of Congress. It possesses considerable manuscript matter bearing on the French



and Indian War, notably in the collection of the Washington Papers. The writer found that in the main this material serves merely to corroborate the statements and facts already accessible to him in the published papers and writings of Washington's and in the Draper collection of manuscripts. An important source for unpublished material on the Virginia Frontier during the French and Indian War is to be found in the collection of Draper Manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The greater part of this material was once scattered over Virginia and adjoining States, but was gathered together during travels lasting through many years, by that indefatigable historical collector, Dr. Lyman C. Draper. For the purposes of this study the writer has had the privilege of making a systematic examination of this entire collection. The Preston and Virginia Papers yielded the most important material in this collection.

It will be observed that at certain points in this study extended quotations or entire letters have been included in the body of the text. The reason for this is that the extracts are, as a rule, taken from previously unused source material.

Acknowledgment of indebtedness for aid in the preparation of these pages is due to the following persons: It was at the suggestion of Professor John H. Latane' of the Johns Hopkins University, that this investigation was undertaken, and it was carried forward with the help of his encouragement and co-operation. Most discriminating suggestions were offered by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Miss Mabel C. Weeks, chief of the division of maps and manuscripts, in the same society, has frequently been called upon for assistance in reading, evaluation, and in pho-



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tostating the Draper Manuscripts. Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University encouraged the writer by emphasizing the timeliness of such a study as this and in indicating attitude and method of treatment. To Hon. Houston G. Young, Secretary of the State of West Virginia, the author is indebted for indispensable reports from the West Virginia archives. The library staff of the Johns Hopkins University and that of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, have generously extended every possible courtesy to the author of this study in its preparation. <sup>Mr. S. R. Grammon,</sup> ~~Miss Ellen C. Rothe,~~ formerly librarian for the departments of history and political science in the Johns Hopkins University, has aided the author in securing important bibliographical data. Thanks are due to Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, acting chief of the division of manuscripts, Library of Congress, for information and suggestions in connection with the use of the Washington Manuscripts in that library. For the use of maps, grateful appreciation is due to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Houghton Mifflin Company, The Macmillan Company, Professor James M. Callahan, of West Virginia University, and Mr. H. E. Rizer, chief clerk, United States Geological Survey. John O. Knott, Ph. D., of the American Red Cross Information Service, has read the manuscript of this study and has offered valuable suggestions as to arrangement and style.

Washington, D. C., February, 1920.



## I N T R O D U C T I O N

It is surprising that there has not been prepared hitherto a study of the Virginia Frontier covering the critical years of the French and Indian War. There have been indeed numerous monographs upon phases of this subject, but no comprehensive treatment of the field as a whole.

Every American history with any pretense of thoroughness devotes a few pages to frontier conditions during this period. There are many volumes that touch phases of the subject as is evident upon examination of the appended bibliography. The object, therefore, of this investigation is to present a coordinated picture of the American pioneer between approximately 1754 and 1763, with the emphasis upon the Virginia Frontier. To do this it has been necessary to study the physiographical conditions of the frontier country, to trace the steps in the westward advance of the colonists, to analyze the reasons for that advance, and to give some account of the racial and creedal groups in this connection.

In order to give the Virginia Frontier its proper historical setting in the time of which we write, it has been necessary to make brief mention of concurrent events in European history, and to devote considerable space to conditions in all of the American colonies at this period, particularly to those colonies adjacent to Virginia.

Neither chance nor fancy is responsible for the selection of the Virginia Frontier as a subject for research in contradistinction to the frontier of any other American colony. Virginia was a centrally located province, and thus enjoyed the advantage of position. It was furthermore the oldest of the





colonies, had the largest area, and was the most populous of the British North American possessions -- deriving from all these advantages a certain prestige above the neighboring colonies. Furthermore, it was the fate of the Virginia colony, on account of the extent and situation of its frontier, to be brought in contact with the ambitious French to the west and north, particularly after the organization of the Ohio Company. This contact with the French carried with it contact with Indians whom the French had won to their way of thinking. Virginia sent the first message to the French when that nation encroached upon British territory, and Virginia fired the first shot of the French and Indian War.

It was Virginia's fortune, or misfortune, to have within her bounds the disputed "Gateway to the West" at the "Forks of the Ohio", the control of which was essential to the interests of both the English and the French. Thus Virginia was sure to be the first of the colonies to feel the force of French intrigue and French hostility to British rule west of the Alleghanies. Not only so, but the extent of Virginia's territory, though expressed in somewhat vague terms, meant the retention or loss for England of what we now regard as a section of the United States second to no other in wealth and desirability. When we recall that Virginia's frontier extended from the "Forks of the Ohio" (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania) to the borders of the Carolinas, and that the entire grant included territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River,<sup>1</sup> we appreciate what was involved in the contention with the French for land granted to the Ohio Company as part of the bulk which Virginia laid claim to in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Of course, the term "Mississippi River" meant at the time nothing very definite to men of England or even to the colonists of Virginia. But this makes all the more interesting the struggle in which Virginia took the lead, in that the colonists were contending for far

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 49.



more than they understood at the time.

The Virginia colony in the period which we treat brought out the resources of one man to whom America owes a debt -- Robert Dinwiddie. These pages will indicate to any candid student of history that despite Governor Dinwiddie's faults, and particularly his want of tact in connection with the famous "pistolet fee dispute" and his attitude toward Washington in regard to Fort Cumberland, he was probably the strongest colonial governor in the colonies -- at the period of the French and Indian War, and certainly the most persistent and resourceful in devising ways and means to save the North American continent to the English people.

Closely associated with Governor Dinwiddie, but ultimately eclipsing him in both statesmanship and service to the colonies and to the country in the after days, stands the great Virginian whom it was Dinwiddie's fortune to "discover". Probably the words of an English historian express as forcibly and as justly as any writer the significance of Dinwiddie's selection of George Washington, then a youth of twenty-one, to bear the initial message to the French commander on the extreme frontier of disputed territory, telling the French to withdraw. Doyle says of this selection of Washington for the proposed errand: "No one short of an inspired prophet could have foreseen that Dinwiddie's selection of Washington was putting the young land surveyor on the first step of a career full of greatness. All we can say is that out of all the young and enterprising Virginians available for such a mission, Dinwiddie chose the fittest."<sup>1</sup>

It will be noted that the later years of the period under discussion are covered much less fully than the earlier ones. The author has attempted to present typical events, questions and issues -- those that involved what was

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Doyle, English Colonies in America, vol. v, p. 430.



basic and vital to an understanding of the times and the significance of the occurrences narrated.

A few words as to arrangement and style. It will be seen that the matter of this study has been treated as far as possible in a topical way. If there are disadvantages in this method of treatment, the author has considered that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Topical treatment lends itself more readily to the story form of writing which has been followed as far as practicable in this entire treatment until the chapter on Forts is introduced.

The preliminary chapter on Topography is intended as background merely. Such books as Semple's "American History and Its Geographic Conditions" have covered the field of physical environment and topography so well that nothing more has been thought necessary in this work than to state the principles already enunciated in such books, in their application to movements which bear upon the matter in this volume.

There may be sincere objection to placing undue emphasis upon the years of the French and Indian War before war was really declared, and dismissing with a comparatively few pages the account of that struggle when Pitt had come into power and death blows were being dealt to the French cause. But as this study is confined to the Virginia frontier, stress is laid upon that which affected the same. Not only so, the years to which space is given in this study are the years during which Virginia carried the burden of the war, even though the formal declaration of war had not as yet been made. It was a Virginia Governor, Dinwiddie, who, from the time he entered upon his office to the close of his term, had one thought only, to which he gave his time and powers -- that of deciding for all time the rights of the British to the American territory east of the Mississippi River. He forced the question to the front, began the war, conducted it almost single-handed until Braddock was sent to the rescue, retrieved



<sup>1</sup> *Ministry Papers*, vol. ii, p. 642, dated 1911. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1782-83, p. xxviii.





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ginia."

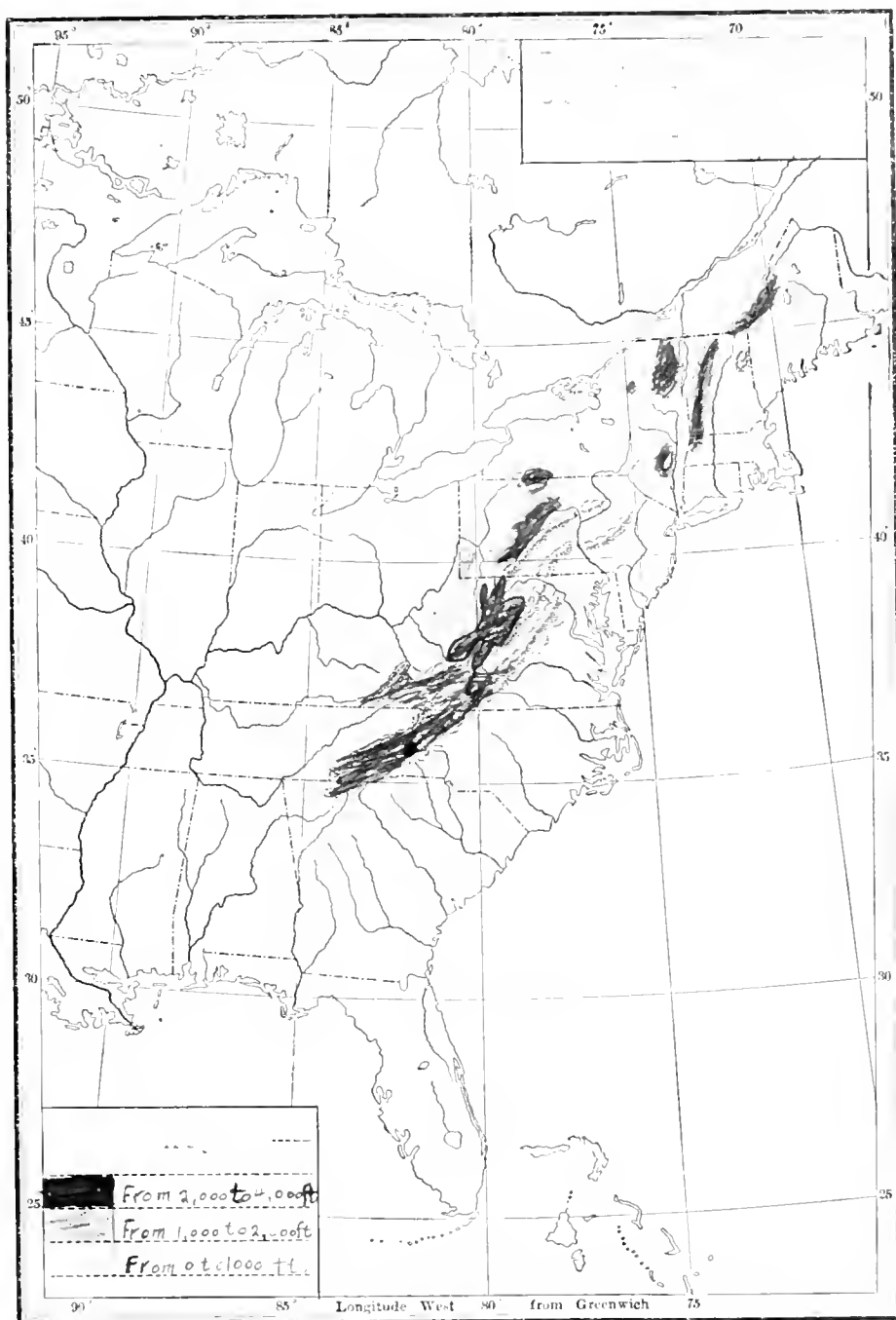
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TOPOGRAPHY, INDIAN TRIBES AND THE GREAT PLAINS.

Seen from an airplane or by means of aerially situated optical instruments, the Appalachian mountain system would appear like a series of huge earth fortification stretches in lines from Vermont to Alabama running in parallels and differing in height. From our airplane we could see immense gaps in these fortifications that would have the appearance of great rivers. From many of these gaps we could discern mountain torrents and strands of silver flowing toward the Atlantic or westward toward the Mississippi River. Some of these streams gather volume as they proceed until they become wide expanses of water forming the commerce of the nation. We would be impressed at once with the tendency of the fortification-like mountain chain to recede from the ocean as it made its way to the north. Immense plains would be discerned along the Atlantic coast extending for miles back to where the mountains began to rise with their barriers as though to forbid intrusion. An observer unacquainted with American history might infer that rival nations dwelt on opposite sides of this great fortification of nature and used the barrier for mutual protection as well as for a boundary line to define their mutual limits. But the many ways noted in the line of





Physical features of the American frontier of the French and Indian War period



defense would at once suggest that either nation could reach the other through these roadways of nature to contend for the possession of the territory of the other.

This imaginary airplane excursion may serve to put concretely before us the facts of history in relation to the early colonization of America. The English-speaking people of Europe held the Atlantic coast from the far North to the extreme South to the borders of Florida. The French laid claim to the vast country now known as the Mississippi Valley. The Appalachian mountains were, in truth, a natural fortification, and the gaps in the mountains through which rivers had cut their way, or through which in the early days the Indian made warpaths, did in reality tempt the rival nations to reach each other that they might contend for disputed territory on their borders, or for stretches of territory which each claimed by right of discovery.

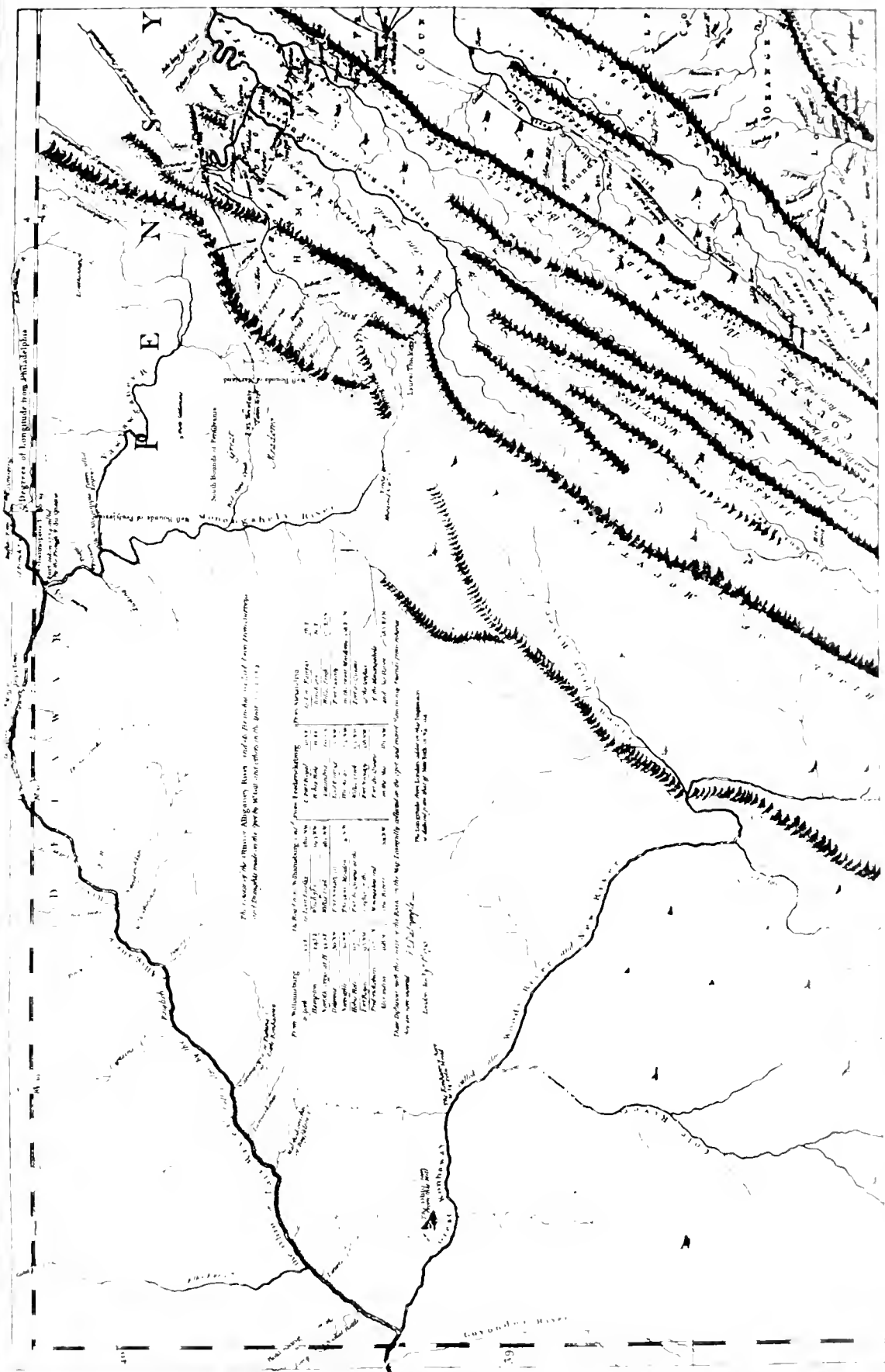
For the purpose of this study it is only necessary to say that England laid claim to much territory in the New World that France claimed. Both nations held these vast tracts of country beyond the Appalachian range <sup>by</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>titles</sup> ~~claims~~. ~~It is~~ into consideration the enmity between the two nations that had existed for years, and the further fact that the colonists in America understood as the people in Europe could not, what the future of this country would mean to the individual pioneer as well as to the nation that he represented, a decisive war between the English and the French in America was inevitable.

Topography not only gave a setting for the French and Indian War, but largely influenced its movements. Our story concerns the Virginia Frontier in this <sup>conflict</sup> ~~war~~, but the Virginia frontier can not be wholly disassociated from the entire colonial border of the English-speaking colonists.

The gaps and depressions in the great Appalachian mountain range tempted the more adventurous of the Atlantic Coast settlers to bend westward. Once on







FRY AND JEFFERSON MAP, 1755.



the ground west of the mountains, with an almost infinite stretch of virgin country awaiting the hand of civilization and at this time rich in the fur trade, it is no wonder that settlers would not readily yield the territory to flimsy claims based on reputed discovery.

~~Let us now consider for a moment~~ <sup>Observing</sup> the natural roadways by which men from the East could reach the West, and in connection with these roadways, the Indian trails which bound the different sections of the country to each other, we shall find that both topography and Indian trails had important bearing on the French and Indian War as that war particularly affected the Virginia Frontier.)

(The first great gap in the Appalachian range as seen in coming from the North is that made by the Hudson River. The Hudson is three hundred miles long and is now navigable for steamers for one hundred fifty-one miles from its mouth; furthermore, the Mohawk River, a tributary to the Hudson, flows from the West eastward for one hundred thirty-five miles, with a fall of only five hundred feet. The Hudson to the North penetrated into the country of the French; and to the West, by the Mohawk, it reached its arm towards the Great Lakes region. Here we have an example of what a channel cut by nature through a great mountain system meant to pioneers unprotected by forts, when they had to the North and to the West of them enemies among both French and Indians. No wonder that a descent upon New York's coastal territory by way of the Hudson was always in early days a danger to be considered.

But a waterway of such importance as that of the Hudson and its tributaries usually implied depressions in the mountains which fed the rivers. These depressions made travel easy and thus tempted it. As a consequence we find that waterways with accompanying mountain depressions were usually, if not invariably, the places in the forests of North America where Indian trails were to be found. Thus the famous war-trail of the Iroquois Indians led from the Hudson River up the Mohawk Valley and on to the West as far as the Great Lakes. That which was the nat-



ural way for an Indian to take in his war enterprises was the natural way for civilization to take in its advance into a forest country. This principle held good for the entire Atlantic Coast as it concerned roadways to the West and the opportunities for reaching the West on the part of ambitious pioneers. But the way to the West was also a way from the West. Hence the river-ways and the Indian trails, in the days of which we write, while gateways of opportunity for conquest on the part of settlers on the Atlantic Coast, were also ~~ways~~ <sup>portals</sup> entrance from the West upon any unprotected territory on the eastern side of the country.

In close connection with roadways to the West and East through the Appalachian mountains, must be mentioned the ~~necessity of~~ <sup>of</sup> attitude ~~to~~ the Indians that dwelt in the regions through which these routes led. As an example of this we find that the powerful Iroquois Indian tribes that largely controlled the Mohawk Valley route were friendly to the English nation. To keep these Indians friendly was the purpose of the English colonists; to alienate them from the English colonists was the purpose of the French. What was true in the Mohawk Valley was true in principle in regard to all the Indian tribes. They were courted, frightened, bought, -- anything that the emergency dictated, that might win them to neutrality if not to actual comradeship in war against a white foe.

What was true of the Hudson waterway and its tributaries to the North was true of the Susquehanna and its tributaries (particularly the Juniata) ~~farther~~ to the South. As the place where Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, now stands was then known as the "Forks of the Ohio" and was regarded as the Great Gateway to the West, it is interesting to note that two routes from Philadelphia, one by the West Branch of the Susquehanna and the other by the way of the Juniata Branch of the Susquehanna, met at this "Gateway". True to topography and to strategic points that mountain depressions made accessible to the Indians, the savages of by-gone



**FOLD OUT**

From Semple's "American History in its Geographic Conditions."  
By courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company.





days had here blocked out the way which the white man afterwards followed, -- only too often to drive the Indian from his more eastern hunting -ground farther and farther to the West.

In connection with the Susquehanna routes to the West we find what was true of other routes farther to the South. Passages to the West were generally zigzag <sup>paths</sup> ~~lines~~, on the basis <sup>for</sup> ~~that~~ the shortest distance between two points is not always a straight line. If mountains rear up their forms just in front of the traveler, yet open up great gaps farther south or north, and if lateral valleys invite easy passage to the gaps in the mountains, the most natural way to take in going to and from the West is the zigzag course. This, in fact, was done by the wise use of the hint which nature had given, and the wild man of the American forest had utilized already.

Probably the most famous and the most popular of all the routes to the West in the days of the French and Indian War was the one by way of the Potomac River, out through the Cumberland, Maryland, gap, and thus to the Forks of the Ohio. Here again, Indian trail met and crossed Indian trail. We shall see why the English colonists fortified this route and why Virginia was so much concerned with it as a passageway to the West, and why its destination, the Great Gateway, was a nerve center in the entire contest between the French and their Indian allies and the English and their Indian adherents. <sup>point between the branches</sup> ~~The form~~ of the Ohio was a veritable mountain Gibraltar.

Farther South than the Potomac waterway <sup>by</sup> ~~to the west, we find~~ the James-Lew-Kanawha route, as it is aptly called. This route led West across the Shenandoah Valley on through the Alleghany mountains to the Kanawha, and thence to the Ohio River. Here again, Indian trails followed the <sup>Streams</sup> ~~waterways~~ or took short cuts and made use of the waterways at convenient places where a mountain was cut by a river and thus opened a way of least resistance. ----- no H



*408* The gaps and Indian trails above mentioned are sufficient to illustrate the principle under consideration. The Potomac and the James rivers are the ones that concern the Virginia Frontier particularly.

It is evident that in the days of early settlement a river had importance in proportion to two things, namely, the extent of its penetration into an undiscovered, or at least unoccupied, country; and the distance it was navigable for boats of trade. Fur trading was, of course, an industry which at once attracted the quick eye of men of enterprise. Furs were secured from the Indians for trinkets of small value and if they could be conveniently carried to the Atlantic Coast there was a ready market for them, - if the owners did not elect ~~to~~ themselves <sup>to</sup> supervise the sending of these desirable skins to Europe. If a river admitted of small trading boats being borne upon it (without obstacles in the way of falls) for a great distance, that river naturally became a highway for fur traffic. If an obstacle in the way of a considerable fall in the river stopped navigation, at that point it was natural to make a settlement. Thus, Richmond is at the falls of the James and Alexandria is at the falls of the Potomac.

But a river extending into forest country possessed dangers in time of war for the inhabitants of the sparsely settled country. The Hudson, with its great length of navigable waters was a menace as well as a source of revenue to the early settlers of that region. When, on the other hand, the Indians were once driven from the tidewater country of what is now Eastern Virginia, there was no danger of savages floating down upon the coastal inhabitants by way of the Potomac or the James.

The bearing which the topography of the Atlantic Coast regions of the country had upon the movements of frontiersmen, Indians, and armies, has been so satisfactorily <sup>described</sup> ~~written up~~ <sup>1</sup> that there is no need to do more than give a few con-

1

E. C. Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions, with special interest for us of Chapters ii - v.



crete illustrations of the relation of certain movements to the way topography influenced them.

The Potomac-Alleghany natural route to the West prompted the Ohio Company's launching its land project and led westward to its particular region of operation. The Ohio Company's operations occasioned the French and Indian War. The first attempts to reach the French in the Ohio section by an embassy and later by an armed force, was through the use of this roadway of nature to the western country. It was finally Braddock's route.

The route now followed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway to the western country, through what is now Staunton, Virginia, serves to show on its face how Augusta County, even as it now is, would be threatened by Indian invasions in times when colonial forces were diverted to other parts, or when the entire Virginia Frontier weakened as it did after the defeat of Braddock. The same is true of the waterways of the James, the Rappahannock and the Pamunkey rivers. The outlet to the West would naturally, in danger times, become the inlet from the back country for Indian invasion.

Topography explains the situation of forts and dictates their location. The confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela Rivers already prophesied a great city to be built there when waterways and Indian trails in the early days converged at this "Gateway to the West". Washington's quick eye saw in this strategic point a call for a fort. It became the location of the afterwards famous Fort Duquesne, later Fort Pitt, and finally Pittsburgh.

The easier and safer the route to the West, the more it would be traveled. Hence in early days questions arose as to what Indian tribes would be met in a proposed movement to the western frontier. The entire question of the way of the least resistance comprised elements that had topography at their root.

When we speak of the tide of emigration from the eastern coast towards



From Channing's "History of the United States, Volume II."  
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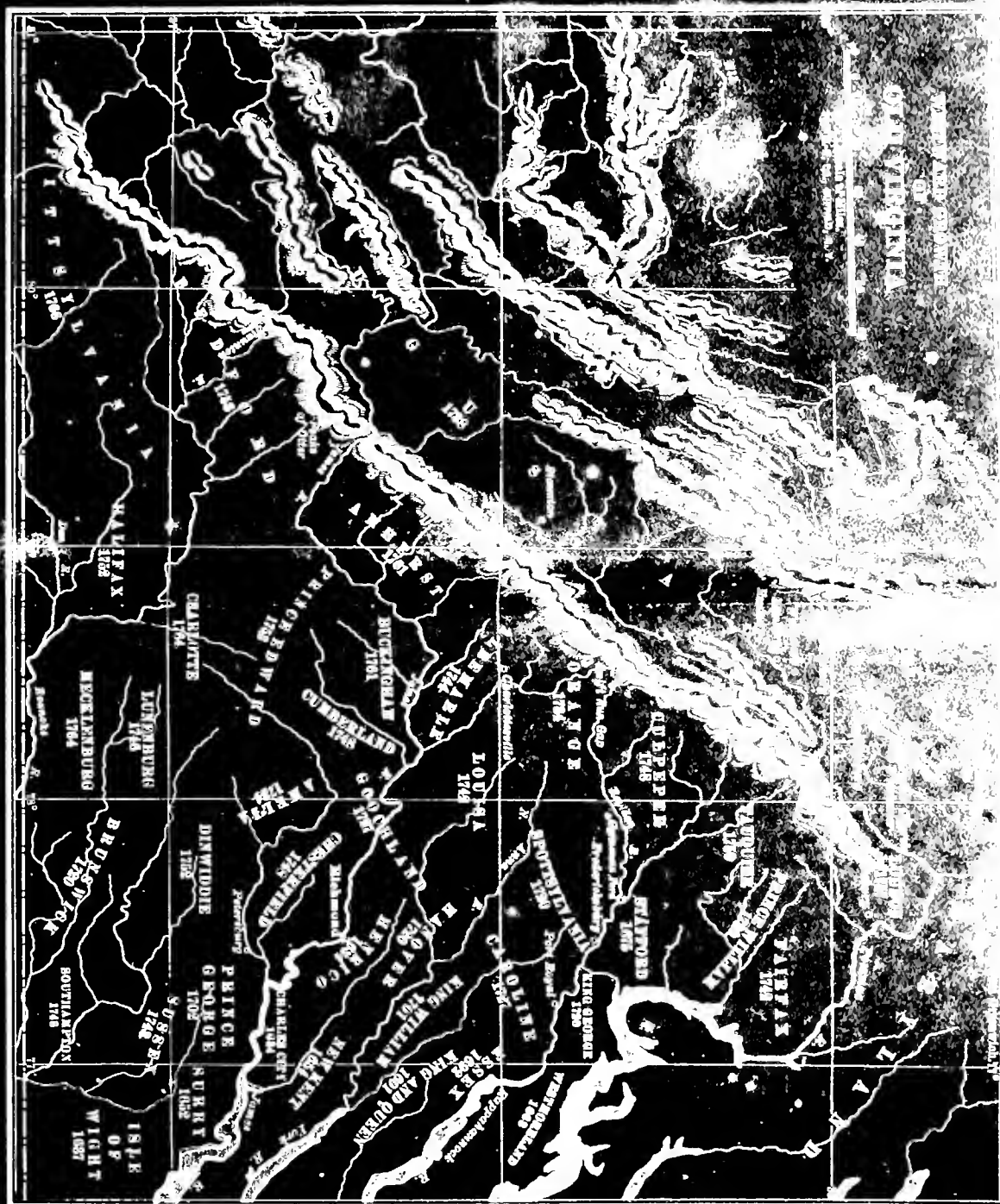
the western country, other elements, ~~such as economic ones, political ones, or religious, or racial ones,~~ lay their part. But topography pointed the way that these human tides would flow, no matter what the cause of the flow.

By the year 1750, the North Carolina frontier had been pushed westward some one hundred miles on the Cape Fear River, and along the Tar and Neuse Rivers to about where Hillsborough, North Carolina, now stands. The Virginia settlements had, by this time passed the "Fall Line" and reached the Blue Ridge Mountains. This was the natural westward advance of the "tidewater" population. The Blue Ridge Mountains served to temporarily check the westward advance of the tidewater people, but the fertile valley of the Shenandoah, just beyond, had for over a decade been filling rapidly with so-called "foreigners". These non-English people were, for the most part, Scotch-Irish<sup>1</sup> and Germans<sup>2</sup> that had come south from Pennsylvania by following the north-south valleys along the Alleghany and Blue Ridge Mountains. The southern part, or "upper" valley of the Shenandoah was taken up by the Scotch-Irish, while the northern, or "lower" valley, was settled by the Germans. The more daring Scotch-Irish had also taken advantage of the Potomac River passage-way to press westward as far as Mills Creek. Settlements also extended along the South Branch of the Potomac to where Romney, Petersburg, and Franklin, West Virginia, now stand. In Pennsylvania these two elements in our early civilization <sup>had</sup> pushed as far as <sup>the</sup> present Bucks and Lancaster counties -- the Scotch-Irish farther out on the border than the more peaceable Germans. In part because of the barrier formed by the Alleghany and Cumberland Mountains, these Pennsylvania settlers were readily deflected southward. A few of them stopped in

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America; S. D. Green, The Scotch-Irish in America.

<sup>2</sup> Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania; J. W. Wayland, The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.





From the State of Virginia, the following counties are shown:



Maryland, and of the in Virginia, and some in fact to the Carolinas. The chief reason, however, for the migration from Pennsylvania southward was the intolerable conditions on the Pennsylvania frontier where the country was without defenses of any kind because of the position taken on the matter of colonial defense by the Quaker lawmakers at Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> In New York, at this time, the most extreme western settlements had not passed beyond the head waters of the Delaware, except in the case of the Mohawk Valley. Here the land had been taken up almost to the very source of the river only about fifty miles from the English post at Oswego. The whole Atlantic Coast frontier line was as uneven and tortuous as can be well imagined, resembling a huge hand spread out along the Atlantic coast. The base of the hand would rest on the coast, while the fingers, represented by the numerous rivers, would point westward and northwestward. The American home-seekers who wrestled with nature and with Indians had stuck close to the streams that penetrated the interior, chiefly for economic reasons, as streams afforded practically the only east-west means of transportation in colonial days. The lands between the rivers were occupied only after the best lands along the streams had been appropriated, and after a growth of population made their occupation a necessity.

The topographical background of our study, including the Indian trails and the brief reference to the drift of population westward, at once suggest that the immense tract of country west of the Appalachian range was bound to be a bone of contention between the two nations that claimed it. The people of the Atlantic slopes were the sort of people that would fit into the plan of nature such as was here presented. The avenues of approach to the western country were prepared by nature and the Indian, -- nature's forest-child. To all this may be added that the time was ripe for action. A struggle for the continent was at hand.

<sup>3</sup> W. P. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1753-1765*, p. 310, & *passim*.



GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The events of 1753-63 in American colonial history are pictured upon a European background. They are colored, however, by the racial, creedal, and governmental conditions of the various colonies involved.

The period covered by the French and Indian War in America was the period of the Georges in English history. Green<sup>1</sup> has said of George I and of George II : "Their character as nearly approached insignificance as it is possible for human character to approach it." He further says of George III : "He had a smaller mind than any English king before James II."

While, however, there was no strength on the throne of England in these days, the times were made memorable because of Englishmen in both state and church that guided the affairs of the English people. These were the days of Clive in India, William Pitt as Prime Minister, and of John Wesley, who was just inaugurating his apostolic work for England and the New World as well. In the earlier part of the struggle in America for English supremacy over the French, Pitt had not yet come to his own; but he took the oath of office in time to show his strong hand in bringing to a victorious end the war which was to decide whether America was to be dominantly English or French. Pitt said, upon entering upon the high duties of guiding England's destinies: "I want to call England out of that enervate state in which twenty thousand men from France can shake her."<sup>2</sup> The great statesman was right in feeling that there was need to "shake" somebody; but it was leadership that had been "enervate".

<sup>1</sup> Green, History of the English People, vol.      p. 6

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 7





The hesitation and positive incompetence of the Mother Country in the earlier years of the French and Indian War had been paralleled in America by absence of cooperation among the colonies. Hesitation characterized some of them. In others there were bickerings, and even conflicts between colony and colony and also between the several colonies and their respective legislative assemblies. The defeat of Braddock was indeed a blessing in disguise, as it served to arouse the colonies to something of concerted action. But even then there was apathy in certain colonies that, as now seen in perspective, calls for explanation.

Nearly one hundred <sup>and</sup> fifty years had passed since the founding of Jamestown, Virginia. In the meantime New England had been settled by a religious contingent from English stock whose primary aim in coming to America was to have "a State without a king and a Church without a bishop." The Puritans were Non-conformists, but not necessarily Separatists. Their position was something like the attitude of John Wesley and his followers to the Established Church - "in it but not of it." Of course, the Puritans went farther than the Methodists in their attitude and practices so far as the Church of England was concerned. But both of these church folk found that on coming to America non-conformity to the Established Church became separatism in spirit and practice. At any rate, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the period of which we write, New England had become dominantly Congregational. By an irregular evolution the original Plymouth colony that had fled to America because of persecution for their religion, had developed into an intolerant State Church, and then back to toleration of a cautious type. In the meantime, religion was the leading topic about which New



Englanders wrote and spoke. At the very beginning of the period of the French and Indian War, when Robert Dinwiddie was appointed Governor of Virginia, Jonathan Edwards, the leading New England divine, was concerned only over the new appointee's religious status, saying<sup>3</sup> in a letter to a friend at the time, that Dinwiddie was a Scotchman and had been reared up under the influence of the Presbyterian church, and would, as a consequence, have "respect for that church." This is a straw that tells which way the wind was blowing.

No characterization of the New England church at the time of the French and Indian War would be complete without some reference to the attitude of the people of that section to Roman Catholicism. To them the French people, who had strongly entrenched themselves just to the north in what is now Canada, as well as to the west towards the Great Lakes region, were "Papists." It is not going too far to say that this term had about the same effect upon the earlier New Englander that the word "fire" would produce on persons living in the vicinity of a powder mill. When we search for motive or for impulse that inspired the people of New England to be more ready to fly at the French or their Indian allies than were their fellow-colonists, we find reason enough in this deep-seated feeling against "papists" and "popery." The fathers of the Congregationalists had taught their children that all the ills which they had suffered came of "popery" in spirit if not in fact. They had declared that only so far as the Church of England had become imbued with the spirit of Roman Catholicism was it a persecuting church. ~~We state~~ This condition in New England ~~is a~~ *must be duly considered in order to comprehend* ~~the part that it played in~~ the attitude ~~and actions~~ of the New England colonists in the French and Indian War. The hesitation to come to England's assistance because of the Established

<sup>3</sup> Charles Campbell, History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, p. 454.



Church which the New Englanders opposed was more than overruled by the "majority," with which they marshalled forces to fight "Papists."

When we come to the consideration of the New Netherlands, now become New York under English dominion, we find that here both race and creed combined to produce an indisposition to come to the help of England in a united effort to drive the French from the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. While New York was English in name, it was at this time a cosmopolitan colony of many races and creeds. It has been said that as many as eighteen languages were spoken in the New York colony at the time of which we write. The Dutch were there in full force, of course; but so were the Quakers of different nations. When we find the New York assembly hesitating to come to the aid of England in an attempt to drive the French from a fort (which the latter had built on the Ohio) on the basis, as the assembly said, that it was not clear to them that "the French had made any encroachments upon 'his majesty's domains'," <sup>4</sup> we may be ~~excused~~ <sup>pardoned</sup> for looking deeper than this excuse for the cause of such indifference to English supremacy. Cosmopolitan New York had not yet come to be the homogeneous New York of later years.

New Jersey<sup>5</sup> was at this time what might be called a slice of New York. In race and creed that colony was ~~such~~ <sup>like its</sup> neighbor, ~~was~~ <sup>and, indeed,</sup> that had for some time ~~taken the New Jersey colony under her wing by making one governor serve for both colonies.~~ <sup>the two had been administered by one governor.</sup>

Maryland was, in spite of reports to the contrary, Roman Catholic in its dominant people, although the Catholics numerically were not ~~ascendant~~ <sup>the more numerous</sup>. Virginia was strongly for the Established Church of England, and at times intolerantly so. North Carolina was at this time in the throes of a conflict between the

<sup>4</sup> Pennsylvania Colonial Records, vol. v, p. 748; W. C. Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Dinwiddie to Governor of New Jersey, Nov. 8, 1754, Dinwiddie Papers, vol. i, p. 392; same to same, Jan. 14, 1755, *ibid.*, p. 457-8; Dinwiddie to Lords of Trade, *ibid.*, p. 279.



Establishment, to which the colony had originally adhered, and the spirit of dissent that now was rampant.<sup>6</sup> South Carolina was ever disposed to "gang its own gait", secure in its remoteness from northern enemies and supposedly at peace with its own Indian neighbors. The Church of England was strong in this colony but Independency was also on the ground. *According to* ~~If we take~~ Governor Glen's characterization of the South Carolina assembly<sup>7</sup> that colony had begun very early to think and act for itself.

It can be seen at a glance that there was little hope for cohesion or cooperation among the colonists on the basis of creed. And as creed and nationality were intermingled in early colonial life, we may speak of both of these forces as deterrents to united effort in behalf of England's honor where the individual colony did not consider itself in any special danger from French and Indian depredations. Religion was thrust to the front in those days to such an extent that we can not ignore taking into consideration the part that creed played in colonial divisiveness.

In connection with creeds as a cause of want of cohesion in American colonial life at the time of the French and Indian war, special mention should be made of Pennsylvania and Maryland,<sup>8</sup> both of which were in the meshes of proprietary governments. These colonies were obliged to seem to serve two masters. As a consequence, they served neither. Yet amidst the clash of people versus proprietor and king in these two colonies, the interests of the colonies as a whole were overlooked.

<sup>6</sup> S. B. Weeks, Johns Hopkins Studies, vol. i, p. 277, "Religious Development of the Province of North Carolina;" H. I. McCormac, University of California Studies in History, vol. i, No. 1, p. 87, "Colonial Opposition to Authority."

<sup>7</sup> Glen to the Duke of Bedford: "...the people have the whole of the administration in their hands, and the governor, and thereby the Crown, is stripped of its power." Quoted by E.M. Avery, History of the United States, vol. iv, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Dinwiddie to Lord Halifax, November 16, 1754, says that South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys have granted no supplies; that in Pennsylvania this is due to the presence of so many Germans, among whom are many "Roman Catholics, as also in N.Y'd, that I dread if the Fr. sh'd be permitted to make a settlement on the rich Lands of the Ohio, that by sending invitations to them, from their religious Principles, they may be prevailed to go on to the Ohio and join the Fr. in Expectation of large Grants of Land." Lin. Pap. vol. i, p. 406.





*the religious matters*

~~They~~ had played an important part in the founding of both Pennsylvania and Maryland. The Quakers, in these early days, though never a persecuting sect, ~~found their hands against every man's hands~~ <sup>themselves at odds with every one else</sup> (the Indians excepted), ~~and every one else at odds with~~ <sup>one else at odds with</sup> them. As the Quakers were almost all-powerful in Pennsylvania, the fact that the creed of the dominant people of this colony negatived the creed of every other religious sect, was cause enough for want of cooperation with the other colonies with whose religious beliefs they had so little sympathy. But when we add to this deterrent the other which grew out of the refusal of the proprietor of the colony to allow his own land to be taxed for means to defend that very land from which he was drawing his revenue, we may well hesitate to be over harsh with the Pennsylvania assembly for refusing to act with the other colonies until the parsimonious Lords of England had agreed to take a hand in providing means for colonial defense.

What is said of Pennsylvania so far as proprietary government <sup>10</sup> is concerned was equally true of Maryland. <sup>11</sup> It seems to have been a toss-up between the Penns and Frederick, Lord Baltimore, who of the two should be the more parsimonious.

<sup>9</sup> Stillé, Pennsylvania Magazine of History, vol. x, pp. 283-319, "The Attitude of the Quakers in the Provincial Wars"; W. I. Root, The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765, chapter 10; Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government, pp. 223-224.

<sup>10</sup> Din. Pap., vol. ii, p. 181.

<sup>11</sup> The Maryland-Virginia boundary line question had also been a matter of concern between Virginia and her northern neighbor. Governor Sharpe to Lord Fairfax, Archives of Maryland, vol. i, p. 6; Lord Fairfax to Governor Sharpe, Sept. 24, 1753, ibid., p. 7; Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, June 6, 1754, ibid., pp. 69-71.



In their place that acted as a cause of want of cooperation among the colonies in the French and Indian war was the absence of sympathy between the various governors and the assemblies over which they presided.<sup>12</sup> These governors were appointed by the Crown, and were generally only lieutenant- or sub-governors, the titular governor living in England while his representative presided over the colony ~~by proxy~~ <sup>as his deputy</sup> ~~so to speak~~. In some instances the governors got on well with their respective assemblies so long as little was asked of the people, but we shall see later how Governor Dinwiddie almost wrecked his popularity and the King's cause in the Virginia colony by making a demand which the Virginia assembly resented. Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, seems to have been an able official, loyal to the King and to his proprietor, and desirous<sup>13</sup> of doing all he could<sup>14</sup> to join the other colonies in an attempt to defend the English claims in America against what was thought to be French aggression. But the Maryland assembly persisted in adding riders to otherwise excellent bills providing for men and means for defense - those riders invariably having teeth for the proprietor of the colony and serving to nullify these bills because Governor Sharpe felt that he ~~could not~~ <sup>must sustain</sup> ~~override~~ the man whom he represented in the colony.

The case of Governor Glen, of South Carolina, illustrates a somewhat hopeless situation, as has been already indicated. After all has been said, the strength of Governor Dinwiddie is made the more apparent when we note how he overcame opposition from one of the most sullen and determined of colonial assemblies, and by Scotch persistence finally made friends out of his very foes. Dinwiddie built wiser than he knew for the future United States.

<sup>12</sup> E. I. McCormac, University of California Studies in History, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-98, "Colonial Opposition to Authority."

<sup>13</sup> Forbes to Sharpe, July 20, 1758, Archives of Maryland, vol. xxv, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> See his speech to the Sherlocks in 1755, J. M. Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. 1, pp. 61-63.



As the as embled of the colonies were ill, the colonies were often positively defiant, so we find also the extreme frontier a certain element or factor which made against colonial cohesion. This factor was <sup>created</sup> in part <sup>by</sup> national or racial peculiarities and in part <sup>by</sup> the environment of the frontiersmen involved. While the inhabitants along the Atlantic Coast and other sections from which the Indians had long since been driven and which had become established communities, were disposed to stress community and inter-colonial life, the frontiersmen on the very borders of the western rim of English possessions, were very individualistic. This was not more than was to be expected. Men who are adventurous enough to live where they must in a moment's notice meet single-handed the savage of the American forest, would in the very nature of the case be men who had confidence in themselves. This confidence on the part of a man to take care of himself and family on a savage frontier develops individuality beyond what we can conceive in our day. If to this frontier environment we add Scotch-Irish <sup>hardihood and tenacity</sup> hardiness, we have a combination which might suggest the Scotch Highlanders of Scott's romances. The colonial frontiersman of the French and Indian War period was a law unto himself. If he could be induced to fight for a colony or a confederacy of colonies, he became a force that the foe had to reckon with; but he was not easily induced to be communal enough to fight for rights which were clouded in disputes about "discovery claims." <sup>Thus a</sup>

~~study of the Virginia Frontier, we are not with a situation that involves a knowledge of conditions in England and in the several colonies under English jurisdiction in America. After~~ <sup>Study of</sup> the Virginia Frontier, <sup>calls for an understanding of the pioneer spirit as well as</sup> ~~we are not with a situation that involves a knowledge of conditions in~~ <sup>With these</sup> ~~this bird's-eye view of~~ <sup>review may</sup> general conditions we turn to Governor Dinwiddie and the Virginia popular body, the assembly, ~~that we may understand their attitude in the light of what has been already said.~~



Governor Robert Dinwiddie, 1706-1771, was born in Scotland in 1706. He was governor of the Virginia colony from 1751 to 1758, and before that in 1693. In 1727 he was appointed collector of customs for the island of Bermuda. For his vigilance in detecting a fraud in the system in use there, he was appointed in 1738 "Surveyor-General of Customs of the southern ports of the Continent of America." He seems to have lived in London in 1749, engaged in trade with the American colonies. He was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Virginia July 20, 1751. He arrived in Virginia, November 20, of that year. The first patents signed by Dinwiddie bear the date of April 23, 1752. His first meeting<sup>16</sup> with the Virginia assembly was on February 27, 1752.

Dinwiddie's first address to his assembly indicates how clearly he comprehended the entire colonial situation, not only as it affected Virginia, but England. The governor was ever disposed to think of the colony over which he presided as a means to accomplish an end much above the mere good of the colony itself. With rare foresight and statesmanship, Dinwiddie <sup>saw</sup> ~~saw~~ both the strength and weakness of the English situation in America. <sup>In his</sup> ~~Despite the fulsomeness of Dinwiddie's first address,~~ — a fault which was due largely to the customs of the times, <sup>bestowing many fulsome compliments upon</sup> ~~after the governor has plentifully scattered courtesies to the Virginians,~~ <sup>and</sup> assuring them among other things, that it would be his "constant care to support the Church of England, as by law established,"<sup>17</sup> <sup>brought forward</sup> ~~he mentioned~~ as one of the first matters of importance the relations of the colony to the Indians. <sup>the governor said:</sup> ~~While Dinwiddie is speaking to the Virginia assembly, we are sure that he is thinking of the entire colonial situation. Probably we can do no better~~

15 The "Dinwiddie Papers" with an introduction by R. A. Brock, are published in Virginia Hist. Soc. Coll., V. . ., vols. iii and iv.

16 The first session lasted from Feb. 27 to April 21, 1752.

17 Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1752-53, p. 4.





~~then quote from the original records, and in the style and spirit of the times,~~  
~~the new governor's advice on attitude to Indians. If he seems to preach, that~~  
~~can be put down to Scotch training. results:~~

"I recommend to your particular regard the Cultivating a good Correspondence with the Neighboring Nations of Indians. It is better they should love us, than that they should fear us; and one of the two is absolutely necessary. Fear is a slavish Passion, and the Mind is always struggling to throw it off. On the contrary, Love and Amity are propagated by Acts of Kindness. \*\*\*\*\* Our European Neighbors, who are settled to the Southward and Northward of us, would never be able to inflame the Indians against us, if the Advantage of mutual Bounty, Gratitude, and public Faith, opposed Attempts. They have long been endeavoring to spirit up the Indians that are in Amity with us, to the Breach of their Faith, with a view to possess, and settle the interior Parts of America, the Back of our Frontier Settlements to the westward. Your own good Sense will soon discover, what bad Consequences such Settlements would be to us, and our Posterity." 18

*It is evident that while addressing the Virginia assembly he had in view the whole colonial situation.*

~~Whatever we may think of Dinwiddie's opinion of Indians and the way to manage them, the principle at stake is this:~~ He saw that the French to the north and the Spaniards to the south would use the Indians as agents to drive the English from the American continent. ~~Dinwiddie saw~~ *The* French and Indian War ~~was~~ *was* a cloud on the horizon, not larger than a man's hand, probably, but nevertheless ~~a~~ *a* cloud -- and it meant the coming storm.

The governor's ~~first~~ *that* his first address ~~had~~ suggested ~~some~~ means to be devised by the assembly to prevent delays in courts of justice. 19 As this was named first in order of recommendations, the assembly at once set to work to comply with the request. While they were doing this the governor announced ~~the assembly~~ that the king had repealed ten acts passed by the preceding assembly. This put a stop to action in the direction of law-making to prevent delays in justice, *but* it did not, it seems, interfere with the curdled feelings which the assembly felt and expressed for the governor. Not only so, *but* the assembly at once took up the entire matter of colonial relations with the Indians, and, among other

18 Journals, p. 5.

19 Ibid., p. 5.



there, passed an act "for encouraging the settlement of the  
Mississippi in the county of Augusta!"<sup>20</sup> This act led to encouraging  
peace with the Indians by having settlers from the Virginia colony live among  
them. It also had reference to speeding up the already notable emigration to  
western lands.

In line with peaceful relations with the Indians yet by indirect  
means, the Virginia colony had long considered setting up strong buffer colo-  
nies<sup>21</sup> that would at least prevent that irritation which direct contact with  
the French and English was sure to cause. This serves to explain, as McIlwaine  
observes, the settlement of the Huguenots at Manakin Town, the Germans at Ger-  
manna and the hearty welcome extended <sup>To</sup> the Scotch-Irish and the Germans in the  
Valley of Virginia.<sup>22</sup> With the French now become a real menace on the border,  
the need for such outlying settlements<sup>23</sup> was felt more keenly than ever. Even  
the ~~ecclesiastical~~ <sup>denominational</sup> bars were let down and ~~persons~~ <sup>such settlers</sup> "being protestants" were ex-  
empted from the "payment of all public, county, and parish levies for a term of  
ten years."<sup>24</sup>

As a testimony of ~~the~~ goodwill ~~which~~ <sup>Dinwiddie</sup> towards the new govern-  
or, the assembly at the close of its first session voted ~~the~~ <sup>Dinwiddie</sup> as a pres-  
ent the sum of \$500. Where did the notion come from that Dinwiddie was unpopular

<sup>20</sup> W. W. Hening, Statutes at Large, vol. vi, p. 258; Journals, p. 63, 70, 72, 76, 83, 98

<sup>21</sup> A scheme in 1730 for settling Palatines on the Ohio had been frustrated.  
Draper MSS., 1B120

<sup>22</sup> Journals, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>23</sup> For considerable matter, with references, on the western movement, see  
Draper MSS., 1B156-183. and passim; see Meercheval, History of the Valley,  
pp. 44-50.

<sup>24</sup> Hening, vol. vi, p. 257



with the Virginia people ~~and even so~~ from the very start?<sup>25</sup>

The second<sup>26</sup> Session of the Virginia assembly under Governor Dinwiddie was critical from any point of view. In the first place it was called at the command of the King "to lay before them the Necessity of a mutual Assistance, and to engage them to grant such Supplies, as the Exigency of the present Affairs require" for defeating the Designs of our Enemies.<sup>27</sup>

The French "designs" had so far taken form that they had already erected a fort in the Ohio region and were preparing to build others at important points. Dinwiddie told the assembly that he had "been alarmed by several Informations from our Back Settlements, from the Indians, and from our Neighbouring Governors" of the approach of the French and their Indian allies towards the Ohio, and that he had by the Advice of the Council "sent several considerable Presents to the Indians, that are our Allies, and in Friendship with us." He also said: "I intend to meet the Chiefs of the different Tribes of Indians, next May, at Winchester, to deliver a very considerable present from his Majesty; and I am in great hopes then, to make a firm, strong and lasting Alliance with them."<sup>28</sup>

The governor advised the assembly that the "Attempt of the French has been represented to the Ministry at home, by several Governors on this Continent, and by myself; and by them (the Ministry at Home) it was laid before the King".<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Journals, pp. xv, (note) and xxvii; Charles Campbell, History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, p. 455; A. G. Bradley, Fight with French for North America, p. 57; J. A. Doyle, English Colonies in America, vol. v, p. 429; J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> From Nov. 1 - Dec. 19, 1753.

<sup>27</sup> Journals, p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 104.



**FOLD OUT**





Incidentally, we catch a view of what Birwiddie was thought of at the English Court, when we read in this connection that "his Majesty out of his paternal love, affection, and great regard he bore to his subjects of this Continent, immediately ordered one of his ships of war to come to this Dominion, with Royal Instructions to me, how to conduct myself, in the present situation of Affairs; I also received Letters to all his Majesty's Governors of this Continent with Orders to dispatch the same to them immediately."<sup>30</sup>

*these communications*  
From ~~the~~ *the* ~~same~~ *the* Government, ~~it is~~ *it may be* ~~known~~ *the Government*  
Birwiddie's capacity and loyalty were appreciated in England, and that ~~in this affair at least~~ *Executive* was ~~inclined to~~ *was* ~~instructed~~ *to get the king's wishes to* other governors.

The second important recommendation of Governor Birwiddie to this second session of the assembly was concerning the militia. ~~we shall express this in the Governor's own quaint way:~~ *In his own peculiar way he said:*

"As I am of the Opinion, that the Militia Law is deficient in some points, I shall lay before you some Remarks thereon for your consideration; As our Militia, under God, is our chief Dependence, for the Protection of your Lives and Fortunes; (our Country being very extensive and without Fortifications,) I doubt not you will think it a proper Step to look into that Law, and make such Alteration and Amendment as to you may be thought necessary."<sup>31</sup>

In the above recommendation ~~we not only hear~~ *there was not only* sound advice, but ~~also~~ *enterprises* the nucleus of one of the most statesmanlike acts of Governor Birwiddie's administration, namely, the fortification of the entire Virginia Frontier. *It will be seen* ~~we shall see~~ *later how this was accomplished.*<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Journals, p. 104.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 105

<sup>32</sup> Chapter vi.



*At the same time*

*made for discord in*

two distinct elements ~~into the composition of his second~~  
assembly. ~~that made for discord.~~ The first of these was a complaint from the  
home government <sup>concerning</sup> the bad quality of the tobacco which the colony had sent  
to England. Dinwiddie says: "I conceive this must be greatly owing to the  
Neglect and Dishonesty of the Inspectors: I therefore recommend to your Con-  
sideration, whether the Reduction of the vast Number of the Warehouses, and  
the appointing an Inspector-General in each River, properly empowered to in-  
spect the different Warehouses, and to examine the Books of the Inspectors,  
could not be of Service to remove the Complaints now subsisting." <sup>33</sup>

Anything that <sup>affected</sup> ~~affected~~ the tobacco trade in the Virginia colony at this  
time *touched a vital nerve in the life of the colony, consequently*  
~~was something like hammering with the steel market in our own day.~~ *most*  
of the time of the assembly was taken up in discussing the pros and cons of  
the tobacco situation and as a consequence little attention was paid to the  
~~vital matter of~~ <sup>the</sup> protection of the frontier.

*The other cause of discord*

~~But the incident that will forever characterize the meeting of this~~  
~~second assembly, and which became the fly in the ointment of the admin-~~  
~~istration of Governor Dinwiddie, concerned the~~ *was* known as the "pistole fee"  
dispute. The facts seem to be as follows: When Dinwiddie was appointed gover-  
nor of Virginia there were in the secretary's office as many as a thousand pa-  
tents made out ready to be passed under the seal. There were as many more sur-  
veyor's certificates for land in connection with which all preliminary steps  
had already been taken, awaiting the issuing of the patents. Dinwiddie's quick  
business eye saw in the situation a chance to make <sup>a few hundred pounds</sup> five or six thousand dollars  
by attaching a small fee to every patent that might pass under his seal. <sup>34</sup>

33 Journals, p. 103

34 Ibid., p. xvi-xviii.



nicely, the governor had a right to exact a fee. It was only <sup>18 pence</sup> 10.00 in the case of each patent, and as the assembly had been generous enough to present the governor with £500 as a present at the close of the first session, probably the governor reasoned that generosity like this would not find fault with the small fee that he was demanding, which like a notary's fee, was given for the setting of his seal upon a patent. But he reasoned without his host. Never, probably, before did so small a matter create so great a storm in an assembly. <sup>36</sup>

To add to the governor's offense he had kept up his sleeve during the entire session what he proposed to do concerning the <sup>the pistol fee proposal</sup> pistol fee until the close of it. <sup>and announced it only at the close</sup>

The <sup>Legislature</sup> assembly vowed it had been hoodwinked and that their governor's only interest in the colony came from his desire for personal gain. <sup>The resentment was so hot that</sup> This one act of Governor Dinwiddie dogged his ~~entire~~ <sup>entire</sup> administration throughout the life of the assembly of 1752-1755. It occasioned a visit of Peyton Randolph to England in behalf of the assembly and thus came perilously near injuring the governor in the estimation of the home government. Dinwiddie <sup>eventually</sup> ~~evidently~~ saw that his action <sup>had been tactless,</sup> in regard to this proposed fee was a tactless one, even though he could have justified himself technically. In a letter written to James Abercromby, <sup>37</sup> April 26, 1754, Dinwiddie confesses: "If I had known that this Affair would have created so much Uneasiness to me and Trouble to my Friends at Home, I would not have taken that Fee."

This pistol fee episode is referred to here at length because of the part it played <sup>controlling</sup> in the action of the <sup>Legislature</sup> assembly in regard to anything which Governor Dinwiddie afterwards recommended. He had positively alienated for the time, the Virginia assembly, had created suspicion in their minds concerning

<sup>35</sup> <sup>\$3.50.</sup> About 16d in English money. Doile, English Colonies in America, vol. v, p. 473, referring to Crosby, Early Joins in America, p. 116.

<sup>36</sup> Journals, pp. 129-166, Passim; Din. Rep., vol. i, pp. 72, 370-375.

<sup>37</sup> Din. Rep., vol. i, p. 137.



his sincerity, and as the consequence we find that at the most critical period yet reached in the history of American colonial affairs, the governor and assembly of the most prominent of the colonies, <sup>at hopeless odds with each other</sup> ~~over a matter of slight importance.~~

~~We cannot~~ better express this entire situation than in the Biblical expression:

"Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth."

~~—~~ **A** reflex effect of the pistol episode upon the rank and file of the Virginia frontiersmen, who should have been in a position to support the governor cordially, <sup>is to be seen in</sup> ~~we quite here~~ a petition from the county but lately named in honor of the governor himself. In this address <sup>there is</sup> ~~to the governor~~ we see fore-shadowed the position which the colonists would finally take on questions which concerned their "life, liberty, and sacred honor." The address from Dinwiddie County ~~to the governor~~ reads as follows:

"We do humbly, but in the strongest terms, represent to your Honour, that it is the undoubted Right of the Burgesses to enquire into the Grievances of the People: They have constantly exercised this Right, and we presume to affirm, that the drawing it into Question, in any Manner, cannot but be dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of his Majesty's faithful Subjects, and to the Constitution of this Government. The Rights of the subject are secured by Law, that they cannot be deprived of the least Part of their Property, but by their own Consent: Upon this excellent Principle is our Constitution founded, and ever since this Colony has had the Happiness of being under the immediate Protection of the Crown, the Royal Declarations have been, 'That no Man's Life, Member, Household or Goods, be taken away or harmed, but by established and known Laws.'"<sup>38</sup>

The third session of the Virginia assembly which was called February 14, 1754, was hurriedly convened to hear an important piece of information. ~~This information~~ was nothing less than a report from the youthful George Washington who had ~~already~~ been sent to the extreme frontier of Virginia to bear a message to the French commander who had built a fort upon what was claimed to be Virginia territory. *To apprehend the bearings of this report it is necessary to recall a group of events which had transpired during the previous six years.*

<sup>38</sup> Journals, p. 143.





We have now reached a point in this discussion that calls for a careful consideration of certain things which date back as far as 1748. <sup>In the year 1748</sup> ~~It is in the~~ year that a corporation was formed known as the Ohio Company, <sup>39 which was</sup> composed of prominent Virginia colonists and a few Europeans. This corporation was granted a tract of five hundred acres on the Ohio River. In 1750, Christopher Dist had been employed by the company to survey the land, <sup>and his</sup> ~~Sister's~~ reports, <sup>40 returned</sup> ~~was made to~~ the company in October, 1752, ~~and~~ were so satisfactory that the company hastened to carry out the provisions of the contract whereby they were to erect suitable forts in the region to be opened up.

This action on the part of the Ohio Company aroused the French who had laid claim to this entire section. It is a well-known fact that they had, about the time of the organization of the Ohio Company, placed along the Ohio River their famous leaden plates indicating that they laid claim to the region drained by that river. The French had secured communication between Lake Erie and the waters of the upper Ohio and had by mutual understanding and friendship with the Indians of that region, or through intimidation, gained valuable concessions from ~~these Indians.~~ <sup>The natives,</sup> A fort at Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie and another at Le Boeuf had been built, ~~but~~ <sup>for</sup> they had also seized the English trading post at Venango. This was a positive step of aggression. The next logical move would have been for the French to get control of the forks of the Ohio, and thus step by step make their way into the heart of the English possessions.

39 Fernow, Ohio Valley in Colonial Times, pp. 240-243. The Greenbrier Land Company was granted 100,000 acres on the Greenbrier River, Ibid., p. 24.

40 Darlington, (ed.) Christopher Dist's Journals.



... while the ...  
ing the <sup>activities</sup> ~~of~~ and he sent George Washington<sup>41</sup> ... to  
inquire of the French ... that he  
was on English territory. The reply of the French commander was evasive ...  
sufficiently pointed to let Dinwiddie know that the French were there to stay. ~~It was~~  
~~this disconcerting reply from the French commander which Washington brought back~~  
<sup>and which</sup>  
to Dinwiddie was the occasion of the calling together hurriedly of the third  
session of the Virginia assembly.

But for the fact that the governor of the colony had rendered himself  
persona non grata, the assembly no doubt would have responded cordially to the  
very same recommendation of the governor which was as follows:

"I doubt not . . . but you will enable me by a full and sufficient  
supply to exert the most Vigorous Efforts to secure the Rights and assert  
the Honour and Dignity of our Sovereign; to drive away these cruel and  
treacherous Invaders of your Property, and Destroyers of your Families,  
and thereby to gratify my warmest wishes in establishing the Security and  
Prosperity of Virginia, on the most solid and permanent Foundations."<sup>42</sup>

The mountain in labor brought forth a miserable <sup>appropriation</sup> ~~sum~~ of ten thousand  
<sup>voted at the third session for the defense of the colony</sup>  
pounds sterling, which ridiculously small sum<sup>43</sup> must have made the governor in-  
wardly curse the day that he <sup>invited the Virginia Burgesses.</sup> ~~ever suggested the measure~~. The assembly fur-  
thermore made a few changes in the law governing the militia, but these changes  
did not render that body sufficiently effective in the emergency that <sup>it</sup> was to  
confront.

An implied distrust of the governor, which very much offended him,

<sup>41</sup> Washington's Journal in W. G. Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 11-40.

<sup>42</sup> Journals, p. 176.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., . xviii.



is seen in an act<sup>44</sup> passed, providing for directors who should if possible, with the consent of the governor or commander-in-chief, direct and appoint how money that had been voted for defense should be applied toward the protecting and defending his majesty's subjects who were then settled, or who should thereafter settle, on the river Mississippi. The act provided that the directors should, as often as there should be occasion to use money for the aforesaid purposes, apply themselves to the governor or commander-in-chief, for the time being, to issue out his warrants to the treasurer to pay such money as should be wanting for the purposes aforesaid, who was thereby required to pay the same accordingly. It was now Dinwiddie's time vigorously to protest against this encroachment upon his rights as the king's representative, as he <sup>was entitled to</sup> should have entire charge of the expenditure of money raised by the act. The governor was doubtless right, but his alienated and suspicious assembly had had their Virginia blood aroused and since money could be secured on no other terms, the governor was compelled to sign the bill with the unpalatable feature incorporated in it. In order to show how far Dinwiddie and his assembly had drifted apart, <sup>as to be seen in a letter where</sup> the governor, in writing to the British Lords of Trade concerning the work of the third session, declared to them that the only thing which kept him from dissolving the assembly was the hope of getting from England an order to dissolve it by proclamation and thus more severely rebuke them, than by merely doing it himself.<sup>45</sup>

**To** anticipate events in order to dispose of the matter of Dinwiddie's conflicts with the Virginia assembly, ~~by saying further:~~ The fourth session of <sup>that body</sup> the ~~assembly~~ which convened August 22, 1754, heard the alarming announcement of

<sup>44</sup> Hening, vol. vi, . . 418; Din. pap., vol. i, . . 98.

<sup>45</sup> Din. pap., vol. i, . . 161.



the capitulation of Fort Mifflin to the French. Under ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> result was to that extent a defeat of Washington and his forces that had been sent out upon a reconnaissance mission to the Ohio region, ~~but~~ this time in defense of the frontier. The alarm of the assembly over the situation is shown in a bill which they drew up for the raising of £20,000 for the purposes of a campaign against French aggression. But the pistole fee, like Banquo's ghost, once more manifested itself. This time it took the form of adding a rider<sup>46</sup> to this otherwise satisfactory bill, asking for £2,500 to be paid to Peyton Randolph for his services to the assembly when he represented the matter of the pistole fee to the English court. The council of course rejected such a bill, and had they not done so the governor surely would have withheld his signature. As a consequence, the assembly was prorogued<sup>47</sup> and its measures were thus rendered abortive. In the meantime, the situation on the frontier was not only alarming, but one that positively threatened disaster<sup>48</sup> to British interests in America.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Journals, p. 201; Din. Pap., vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>48</sup> For "A Register of Persons who have been either killed, wounded or taken Prisoners by the Enemy in Augusta, as also of such as have made their Escape," October, 1754 - May, 1758, see Dwyer, MSS., 14083.

<sup>49</sup> For an interesting brief summary of the military situation in Virginia from 1753-1756, see a letter from Colonel Richard Bland to <sup>the</sup> Upon the back of the manuscript copy is inscribed in Washington's handwriting, "Written & is supposed by Col.<sup>o</sup> Richard Bland 1756." C. F. Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 386-395.









had a terror, dependence on the Colonies for a supply of food, and that it was in great difficulties."<sup>51</sup>

Later he writes to Governor Hamilton, under date of July 31: "It is most certain that if the neighbouring Colonies had given due assistance, the last unlucky affair would not have happened; to the contrary it's more than probable by this time we should have forced the Enemy from the Ohio."<sup>52</sup> Dinwiddie is referring to the defeat of Washington's forces at Great Meadows when he is speaking of the "last unlucky affair."

On the same date that he wrote Governor Hamilton, (July 31), he wrote to Governor DeLancy, of New York, candidly saying: "Their tedious delays (the coming of the New York troops) in coming here has given the French the advantage over us, which You may observe by the inclosed News Paper which is the true Report given by our Officers. . . . If Your two Companies had come in time, the French, in all probability, would not have attacked us."<sup>53</sup>

In writing to Abercrombie, June 18, 1754, Dinwiddie states in more general terms the indifference of two of the colonies adjacent to him: "Maryland and Pennsylvania, two proprietary governments, do nothing tho' equally concerned and more exposed than this Dominion."<sup>54</sup> In the same connection a letter to the Earl of Albemarle, July 24, says: "I am now convinced this Expedition can not be conducted by any Dependence on our neighboring Colonies."<sup>55</sup> This "expedition" refers

51 Din. Pap., vol. i, p. 214.

52 Ibid., p. 257.

53 Ibid., p. 259.

54 Ibid., p. 211.

55 Ibid., p. 248.



to the next <sup>was</sup> move he ~~is~~ making to strike the French after Washington's ~~of~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~indul-~~  
tion. He ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~also~~ leading for help from the home government. His ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> in the  
form of Braddock's regiments.

Governor Dinwiddie <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ humiliated and exasperated by the occasion given  
the French to taunt the English and their Indian allies with the want of cohesion  
among the colonies and also about their "slow government."

On June 18, 1754, Dinwiddie <sup>wrote</sup> ~~is~~ Mr Thomas Robinson: "The French  
too justly observe the want of connection in the Colonies, and from thence con-  
clude (as they declare without reserve) that although we are vastly superior to  
them in Numbers, that they can take and secure the Country before we can agree  
to hinder them." <sup>56</sup>

The situation so far as Governor Dinwiddie's difficulties are concerned  
may be thus summed up: At the beginning of the struggle with the French and  
Indians when he saw that they were entrenching themselves and would, if not  
stopped in time, be too strongly fortified to be driven off, he ~~planned~~ <sup>had</sup> and ~~pleaded~~  
in vain for assistance from the neighboring colonies. Practically single-handed  
he ~~attempted~~ <sup>ed</sup> first by using Grant, and later by an armed force under Washington,  
to occupy the strategic point at the Forks of the Ohio. The failure of these  
attempts drove him almost frantic, not, as we see in his letters, because of any  
reflection which the failure of these expeditions would cast upon him, but be-  
cause of his loyalty and zeal for the British cause. The indifference of the  
assemblies of the colonies and the hesitation of some of the governors themselves,  
present <sup>ed</sup> a situation utterly incomprehensible to a man of Dinwiddie's type. He



~~was aware~~  
knew that difference in breed played <sup>ed</sup> a part in the separation of some colonies with others.<sup>57</sup> He knew that the Germans in certain sections ~~had~~ persisted in staying to themselves and even ~~refused~~ to speak other than their <sup>own</sup> language.<sup>58</sup> He knew that most of the assemblies in the colonies were disposed to give little heed to their Crown-appointed governors. He had himself suffered humiliation and almost insult from his Virginia assembly, because its members misunderstood his real nature, but, in the face of all this, Dinwiddie <sup>did</sup> not lose faith in the final outcome. Whatever were the man's faults, or infirmities, candid opinion must pronounce him brave, loyal, resourceful, and indefatigable. Mollwaine truly says in his introduction to the Journal of House of Burgesses, 1756-58: "Dinwiddie's unremitting labors in behalf of Virginia in her period of trial were beginning to be appreciated and to a certain extent his ability in questions of finance."<sup>59</sup>

57 Din. Pap., vol. i, p. 406, and passim.

58 "...The Germans in Pensyl<sup>a</sup> live all in a body together, as if in a Principality of Germany, nay they not in time throw off their obedience and submissi<sup>n</sup> to the B. Crown? It was, I think, a very imprudent step in the first Settlem't of y<sup>t</sup> Province not to mix them in their Settlem'ts with the Engl., and have English School Masters, &c. Whereas. there are now many Thousands of them speak one word of English." Din. Pap., vol. i, p. 406.

59 Journals, p. xxvii.





GEORGE WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL

Reference has been made already to the selection of George Washington by Governor Dinwiddie to bear to the French commander on the Ohio a message which, while courteous, was so explicit in its claims in behalf of the English people that the governor of the Virginia colony must have known that he committed himself to hostilities if the French commander rejected his demands. The choice of Washington on the part of Dinwiddie to be his ambassador on so important a mission will forever associate these two men in history. As the great American emerges here for the first time in connection with services in behalf of the country that he lived only to serve, this chapter is headed with his name. From this time until the crisis on the Virginia frontier had passed its height the situation.

George Washington, at the time he acted as Dinwiddie's ambassador to the French commander on the Ohio, was only twenty-one years old. Having received his credentials<sup>1</sup> at Williamsburg, Virginia, October 31, 1753, and having also selected a French and an Indian interpreter, he promptly set out the same day upon his adventurous journey. The winter was at hand and Washington had before him a distance of five to six hundred miles through a region practically untraveled save by the Indians of the forest.

<sup>1</sup> Washington's Journal is given by W. F. Ford, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 11-40; Hist's Journal is printed in the Collection of the Papers of George Washington, series 3, vol. v, p. 103.











[illegible]

not without difficulty; David later his [arm] & [other] etc.,  
[illegible] got set out, December 7, after Fort Le Mouet, some other place  
the north. The journal records a number of

we found it extremely difficult to get the insiders off 10-30, as ever, that day. But they used to reveal their in - it with me....

At 11 AM we got off for the port, and were prevented from arriving there till the 15th by excessive rains, sickness, and bad travelling, through very heavy and dense woods....

We crossed very good land since we left Volcano, and through several extensive and very rich meadows; one of which I tell you was over four miles in length, and wonderfully wide in some places."

[illegible]





"The lands upon the Ohio, in the eastern parts of the colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to us, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and building settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's Dominions. The many and repeated complaints that I have received of these acts of hostility have under the necessity of sending . . . George Washington, Esq. . . . to explain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns."<sup>2</sup>

It was developed on this journey of Washington's that Dinwiddie had selected a rare man as his messenger. Young as he was, Washington had a sharp eye for strategic points in case of hostilities. He especially recommended to Dinwiddie that a fort be placed at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, known then as the "Forks of the Ohio." Washington's observations, on this journey, which included the French positions, force, and temper, were noted in his journal which Governor Dinwiddie prized so highly that he had it published in the colonial papers for the benefit of the colonies and sent also to London to be published there.<sup>3</sup>

The report which Washington brought back to Governor Dinwiddie made clear that the colonies must prepare to resist French encroachment. What is known in history as the French and Indian War was evidently at hand, and Virginia's governor, by force of circumstances, was destined to take a more prominent part in it than any other of the colonial executives. In a certain sense

<sup>2</sup> New York Col. Docs., vol. x, p. 558 (quoted from the "Dinwiddie Letter").

<sup>3</sup> Charles Campbell, Hist. of the Colony and Plantation Dominion of Virginia, p. 463.



It was Dinwiddie's war for it was begun in an attempt to protect Virginia territory. The first hostile forces sent out were Virginians; the first blood was shed by Virginians. Associated with Dinwiddie was Washington, who from the time he bore the governor's first message to the French commander, became so identified with the struggle against the French that he was the sword of this war almost as he was later of the one with the Mother Country.

Washington's return to Williamsburg and his report to Governor Dinwiddie occasioned the calling of the third session of the assembly (of 1754-55) as we have noted. But before this session was called Dinwiddie had already, in cooperation with the Ohio Company, dispatched Captain William Trent, January, 1754, with a party of thirty-three men, to the Forks of the Ohio, to erect a fort at that point. Trent had formerly visited this section as a scout. Dinwiddie seems to have commissioned Captain Trent to enlist, in addition to the thirty-three men above mentioned, one hundred more from among the traders on the border. To back up the work of Trent, Dinwiddie prepared to dispatch Washington a second time to the frontier with two hundred armed men. Washington's second expedition to the frontier was not made, however, until after the meeting of the third session of the assembly. Dinwiddie, nevertheless, was acting in the interim of assembly meetings, with the advice of his council. He hoped, of course, that the assembly would not only endorse his action, but provide ample funds for whatever steps might be necessary fully to protect Virginia's frontier. Dinwiddie's words concerning the dispatching of both Captain Trent and Major Washington to the frontier are hereby given in a letter which he wrote to Lord Fairfax in January, 1754:



"In consequence of a free consent given\*\*\* by the Indians to build store houses in the Ohio, no other force (was) sent than about 30 half-starved ordinary men, under a very improper commander, Capt. Trent; who when building a small ill constructed house at the mouth of the Monongahela, the Govt. of Virginia sent Mr. Washington to summon the French Commander of the River S. . . ., & on his haughty answer, raised a few forces, expecting the Province of Pennsylvania would have either sent men, or given a large sum to enlist such as would enter Volunteers, but found that instead of affording assistance they fell into disputes with their Gov'r, & seemed to espouse the French claims."<sup>4</sup>

From the Pennsylvania Archives, quoted by Ford in his "Writings of Washington," we have an interesting side-light on the character of the force at Trent, upon the part that Washington played, and incidentally upon Pennsylvanians' attitude to the early days of the French and Indian War:

"In consequence of a free consent given\*\*\* by the Indians to build store houses in the Ohio, no other force (was) sent than about 30 half-starved ordinary men, under a very improper commander, Capt. Trent; who when building a small ill constructed house at the mouth of the Monongahela, the Govt. of Virginia sent Mr. Washington to summon the French Commander of the River S. . . ., & on his haughty answer, raised a few forces, expecting the Province of Pennsylvania would have either sent men, or given a large sum to enlist such as would enter Volunteers, but found that instead of affording assistance they fell into disputes with their Gov'r, & seemed to espouse the French claims."<sup>5</sup>

There is some difficulty in disentangling events connected with Washington's second mission to the Virginia Frontier. The facts appear to be as follows: Governor Dinwiddie having already, with the advice of his council, and the cooperation of the Ohio Company, sent Captain William Trent in mid-winter to erect a fort at the Forks of the Ohio where Washington thought one should be erected, proposed to back up the movements of Trent as soon as possible. Washington was ordered to Alexandria, Virginia, where he was to concentrate a force that was being raised in Frederick and Augusta counties. In the meantime, the third session of the Virginia assembly met, but due to circumstances already spoken of, failed to accomplish anything definite. Notwithstanding the disappointment that Dinwiddie felt because of the attitude of the assembly, he decided to increase

<sup>4</sup> Din. Pap., vol. 1, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> W. C. Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. 1, p. 40 (note), quoting from Pennsylv. Archives, vol., ii, p. 230.



the force to be sent to the frontier, to six small companies of fifty men each. This entire force he proposed to put under Washington's command as lieutenant-colonel. But Washington, thinking he was too young for such a responsible position, declined the offer, and as a consequence, Joshua Fry was commissioned colonel and put in command of all the forces. Washington, on the other hand, was made lieutenant-colonel, and as matters turned out, bore the brunt of the entire campaign.

After considerable delay in getting together men and supplies, Washington left Alexandria, April 2, 1754, and proceeded to Mills Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland) by way of Winchester. In explanation of the difficulty that Washington had in recruiting men for the expedition, the following letter, under date of March 7, 1754, written to Dinwiddie from Alexandria, speaks for itself:

"Honble. Sir,  
. . . It is now grown a pretty general clamor; . . . some of those, who were among the first enlisters, being needy, . . . are very importunate to receive their due. I have soothed and quieted them as much as possible, under pretense of receiving your Honour's instructions. . . . I have increased my number of men to about 25, . . . I should have several more, if excessive bad weather did not prevent their meeting agreeable to their officers' commands. . . . We find the generality of those who are enlisted, are of those loose, idle persons, that are quite destitute of house and home, and . . . many of them of cloathes. . . . Many of them are without shoes, others want stockings, some are without shirts, and not a few that have scarce a coat or a waistcoat to their backs. . . . But I believe really every man of them, for their own credit's sake, is willing to be clothed at their own expense. . . ."6

When Washington arrived at Mills Creek, April 20, 1754, in command of about one hundred and fifty men, he learned of the disaster that had befallen Trent and his men. Five days later Trent's men returning from the Forks of the Ohio, reached Mills Creek where Washington was. It seems that Trent had built in part a fort at the point designated at the Forks of the Ohio, and leaving an-

6 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 42.





sign and in charge<sup>7</sup> of the unfinished work, had returned to Mills Creek on private business. In the meantime, a French force of considerable numbers had compelled Lord and his men to leave their unfinished fort and to quit that part of the frontier.

Colonel Fry had not as yet arrived at Mills Creek, and his non-arrival in connection with the miscarriage of Trent's plans, combined to place Washington in a very trying situation. He felt the necessity of reaching the Forks of the Ohio as soon as possible. He called a council of war, wrote some urgent letters to the governors of the colonies asking them to give him any assistance they could, and resolved to push on towards the Forks without waiting for Colonel Fry. It is well in this connection to know what were Washington's instructions in regard to the treatment of the French and their Indian allies. Washington had not been declared, yet it was imminent. Dinwiddie was inclined to look upon the treatment of Trent and his men as an act of open hostility on the part of the French. In fact, Dinwiddie regarded the occupation of the ground by the French as an act of hostility. Washington's commission says, among other things:

"... You are to act on the Defensive, but in Case any Attempts are made to obstruct the Works or interrupt our Settlements by any Persons whatsoever You are to restrain all such Offenders, and in Case of resistance to take Prisoners of or kill and destroy them..."<sup>8</sup>

As Washington and his men approached a place called Great Meadows, he learned that a party of French were marching towards him, determined to attack the first English they should meet.<sup>9</sup> The famous encounter<sup>10</sup> with M. de Jumonville was the result. The pros and cons of this incident are too well known to call for detailed mention here. Jumonville and some of his men were killed. Washington by this act practically "crossed the Rubicon."

<sup>7</sup> New York Col. Docs., vol. vi, p. 240

<sup>8</sup> Din. Pap., vol. i, p. 59

<sup>9</sup> Va. Hist. Coll., vol. i, pp. 228-9.

<sup>10</sup> May 28, 1754.







... 1754, which began at West ... 1754. ... that passed the first ... of the ... "pistole fees", ... a generous bill providing twenty thousand pounds for ... to this bill with its provision to ... Lexington ... 20,500, effectively ... the bill,<sup>16</sup> and thus the session of the assembly did nothing for the frontier at this time was in so precari as a condition.

The fifth session of the assembly<sup>17</sup> met closely upon the heels of the adjournment of the fourth. The burgesses by this time had ... to themselves, and the pistole fee affair having been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, a bill was promptly passed for raising by poll tax twenty thousand pounds for the protection of the frontier.<sup>18</sup> The assembly also passed a bill compelling all able-bodied men who had no visible means of support to serve as soldiers.<sup>19</sup> At the meeting of this session, Governor Dinwiddie announced<sup>20</sup> that the king had sent ten thousand pounds, besides military stores, for use in the protection of the colony of Virginia.

It was now late in the fall of 1754. Notwithstanding the proximity of winter, Governor Dinwiddie would have had Washington with the forces<sup>21</sup> to ...

16 Din. Pap., vol. i, p. 324.

17 From October 17 - November 2, 1754.

18 W. W. Hening, Statutes at Large, vol. vi, pp. 435-436.

19 Ibid., vol. vi, pp. 435-440.

20 Journals, 1754-55, p. 239.

21









## a turning point

as the governor of the colony. At the same time, the British government was sorely tried over the matter. The war with the French towards the claims of the French in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and towards the French position to limit the English to the Atlantic coast. As long as Dinwiddie, (though sixty-three years old<sup>26</sup> and suffering from the debilitating influences of a struggle of paralysis), was able to meet the emergency, and as long as a young Virginia officer was displaying talents and energy in frontier fighting which later astonished the world, Virginia's sister colonies were satisfied to let the contest be confined largely to Dinwiddie, Washington, and the inhabitants of Virginia. But when in answer to the persistent appeals from Governor Dinwiddie, England at last was aroused to do something worthwhile, and, having sent a fleet into the Northern Atlantic waters to intercept reinforcements from France, also sent General Braddock to America with two regular regiments, with orders to make Virginia his base -- then colonial interest in the contest began to take form all along the Atlantic Coast. At this time, the French and Indian war lost its practically local character, and became the war of the entire English-speaking contingent in America against the French.

For the reasons just given, it seems necessary to call for a re-evaluation of the significance of the coming of Braddock, to study the relations which the colonies had with the Indians at that time, rather in attempts to gain their friendship <sup>to</sup> or to annihilate them. It is necessary also to recall the reports had been held out to the Indians that the entire English

<sup>26</sup> Din. Rep., vol. i, p. 11.











the colonies, and, particularly, of the Virginia colony, to the reader. The boundaries of the Virginia colony should also be made clear, or at least as clear as possible, without going into tedious controversy. The reader will be helped also to the appreciation of this epoch in our American history by knowing who were the executives of the various colonies and what they stood for.

A logical beginning will be the boundaries of the Virginia colony, at this time: The claim of Virginia to the west and northwest was based upon the grant of land in her third charter, dated June 2, 1609. This original grant was, however, successively cut down by the Crown, through the issuance of charters to Maryland and the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. The immense territory that was hers at the time of the French and Indian war included what is now western Pennsylvania, western North Carolina, and the present States of West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The words of her charter are plain:

"... We do also . . . Give, Grant, and Confirm, unto the said Treasurer and Co., and their Successors, under the Reservations, Limitations, and Declarations hereafter expressed, all those Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of America called Virginia, from the Point of Land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Northward 200 Miles, and from the said Point of Cape Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Southward 200 Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, West and Northwest; and also all the Islands lying within 100 Miles, along the Coast of both Sides of the Precinct aforesaid; . . ."

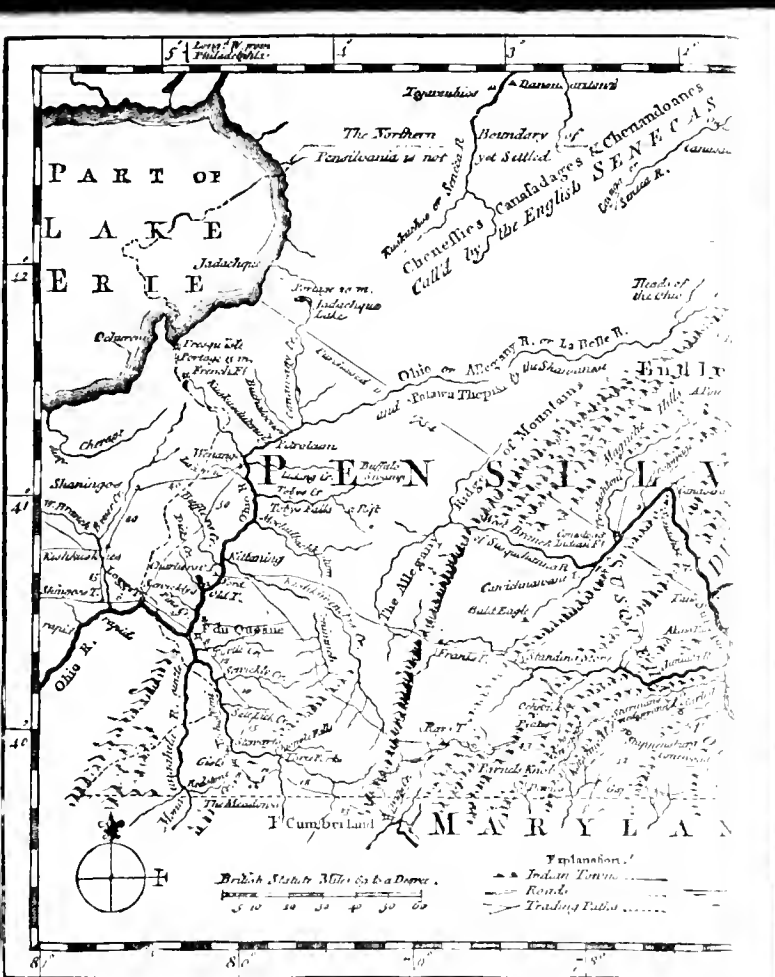
This grant gave Virginia a good title to the Potomac Ports of the Ohio, where the city of Pittsburg now stands. The controversy that Virginia had with Pennsylvania over the western boundary line (and which was not settled until 1779) grew out of the ambiguous wording of the Pennsylvania charter of March 14,

27 MacDonald, Select Documents of American History, p. 31

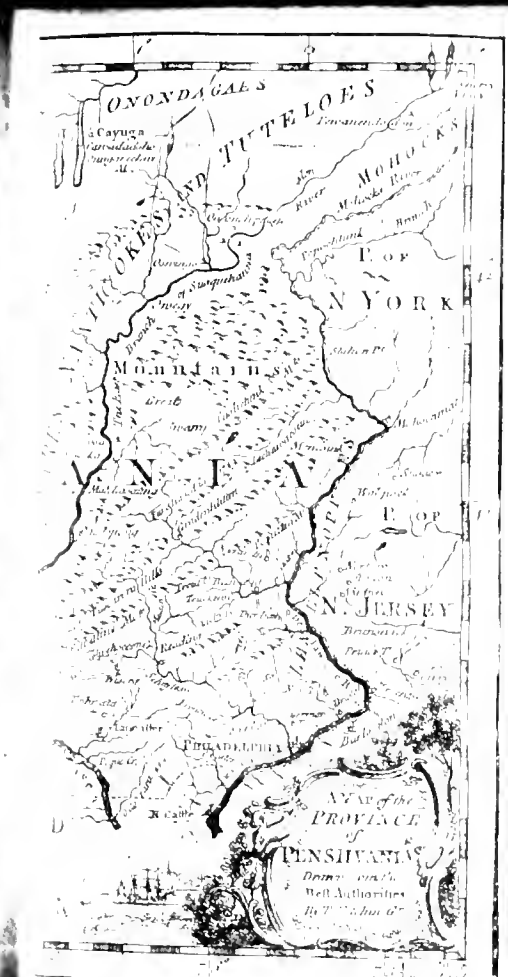
28 Ibid., p. 1.







NOTE. — This map shows an attempt to define the western bounds of Pennsylvania



curves corresponding to those of the Delaware River







"As I intend to go at the close of the winter to the next day, at Winchester, to deliver a very honorable and useful Majesty; I am in, with hopes then, to have a firm, strong, and lasting Alliance with them." <sup>30</sup>

Then "next day" came, and Governor Dinwiddie was on the ground, waiting to meet and conquer. His letters, however, indicate that his great expectations ended in "three strings of wampum!" He says in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, June 18th, 1754: "I waited in that town (Winchester), for sixteen days, in expectation of the Indians, agreeable to their promise. I received a message from some of the Chiefs of their Tribes acquainting me that they could not come to me at that time \*\*\* but desiring to send some of the present sent them by their Father, the King of Great Britain." <sup>31</sup> Later, in another letter, <sup>32</sup> Dinwiddie says: "My endeavors to obtain the Friendship of the Indians has been constant, and I had the pleasure at Winchester to receive three strings of wampum from the Grandotts and other Tribes of Indians." He hopes, however, now that the Conference at Albany, of which we shall speak later, will result in the "Six Nations taking up the hatchet against the French, which will put spirits into all the other Nations of Indians." But on August 15, of the same year, he says: "Our Colonies sent the Chiefs of the Six Nations but they were not able to prevail with them to take up the hatchet against the French, but pretend to remain neutral, till they see the success of either the Contending Parties." <sup>33</sup> And then more in detail, Dinwiddie writes his opinion of Indians in a letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, under date, July 31, 1754:

<sup>30</sup> Journals, 1754-55, p. 204.

<sup>31</sup> Am. Rep., vol. 1, p. 301-2.

<sup>32</sup> Dinwiddie to Sir Thomas Robinson, June 18, 1754, Am. Rep., vol. 1, p. 207.

<sup>33</sup> Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, July 31, 1754, Am. Rep., vol. 1, p. 225.



Governor Middlefield started out with ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> section's

In this connection it may be well to give extracts of a letter from  
written to Governor Dimmick, indicating how a number of the Indians  
Indians, having been of that band a proper description of Indian character.  
Wright, a letter of May 14, 1854, says:

This is good sense, and, even, in the terms of modern ethics, it is  
 a religious duty means to a southern negro, or a our to be able to do  
 who fulfill what is expected of him. Neglect of these duties, on the  
 occasion are a inconvenience.

Fig. . . . , Vol. i, . . . .

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... Indians ... offering ... of an enemy Indian ... twelve years of age. ... Indians whom it was impossible to turn over to friendship ... Indians who were friendly to the English ... joined the English in this scalping project for the sake of the reward.

Early in the year 1754, the respectable and of good sense ... developed a plan both to encourage immigration to the Ohio country ... to protect the extreme frontier of Virginia. His scheme was as follows: He issued a proclamation<sup>39</sup> allotting 200,000 acres of land along the Ohio river, to be distributed among the men who would serve in the French and Indian war and who would settle in that section of the country. This land was to be free from taxes for a period of fifteen years, and the settlers were to have fort protection. Had Washington's expedition, which ended in his capitulation, succeeded, as Dinwiddie felt sure it would, the tract of land on the Ohio ... would have been taken up by eager frontiersmen. But the defeat of Fort Mifflin,

38 Journals, 1734-55, pp. 426; W. W. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. vi, pp. 551, 552, 558; *ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 121-123; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. i, pp. 434.

39 Dinwiddie to Lord Fairfax, 20 Feb. 1754, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 11, 12; Hening, vol. vii, pp. 581-582; *ibid.*, 32246 (Virginia Papers) 1754; contemporary copy dated February 12, 1754.



of ... and later ...

Widdie's ...

The ... of ...  
position would be complete without a brief reference to the attitude of the  
different colonies to ... to this time had ...  
letter of the Virginia colony and the French and ...  
Massachusetts ... of New England, and Governor ...  
that colony, <sup>exhibited</sup> ~~represented~~ the readiness of New England to ...  
the struggle. There is little doubt that of all the governors of the colonies  
at the time of which we write, William of Virginia and ... of Massachu-  
setts were the strongest. New England had been prominent in wars with the In-  
dians previous to this one, and with the "heathen" French to the north and west  
of her. She had her sword well whetted for a conflict with these border foes.  
New York was one of the colonies which had taken the position that it was not  
clear whether the French had really encroached upon Virginia territory; erect-  
ing forts at ... Isle and ... and also at ... where they drove off  
a party of English who had established a trading post there. Whether this po-  
sition taken by New York was a sincere one, or simply an ...  
difference concerning what its position was ... of the ...  
valleys, is not clear. We know that the independence of ...  
York ... of ... in the Washington ... to ...  
arrived too late to be of any service and ...  
of New York that this tardiness occasioned the defeat of ...  
Pennsylvania was a colony dominated largely by ...  
have seen, by its proprietary character, ...





















the night hours, as the sun set, the stars came out, and the  
the soldiers of the British, who were now in the hands of the  
of the red-coated British, whose uniforms were as bright as the  
how Braddock offended such masters of Indian fighting. "But, the  
er" by his insistence upon discipline, thus lost to himself, <sup>any</sup>  
whom in an Indian war, was a copy of British discipline; how  
Braddock's march through the forest of the exact country was like a triumphal  
procession and drew from Washington the remark that he had never seen a more  
beautiful sight; how, as they drew near to the place of Washington's previous  
experiences with the French and Indians, Braddock's forces were suddenly at-  
tacked by what seemed to be an "invisible foe"; how confusion reigned such that  
its that the only soldiers who were doing effective service in killing the In-  
dians were shot down by Braddock's own men, mistaking them for Frenchmen; how  
the general and Washington, both alike having horse after horse killed under  
them, seemed invulnerable to fear; how the general finally fell, and his men  
left him to rot in his blood, the Virginians who had despised him for  
their want of training as soldiers, took up his body at the risk of their lives  
and carried it to safety; how Braddock<sup>52</sup> in his humiliation, regardless of his  
wounds, thought only of a disaster which he could not understand; how his faith-  
ful aide, Washington, whom he would not heed in methods of fighting, read the  
last rites of the Church over Braddock's body which was buried in the middle of  
the road; how Washington, in a westerly way, struck west from a late position

52 - In a letter in the life of Braddock's son, dated 1758, he writes to Washington, that on 20, 1758, he was in the army, and was in the army, Vol. 1, p. 37-4.













the ...  
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...<sup>60</sup> ...  
...<sup>61</sup> ...

The burgesses of Virginia had now forgotten the ...  
their governor and promptly voted<sup>62</sup> = 40,000 with which he ...  
posed to augment the Virginia forces ... to have at least 2,000 men for the  
protection of the colony. The spirit of the Virginians was evidently aroused.  
The governor says in a letter to Colonel James, (Aug 11th, 1775), ...  
days after the burgesses had voted to provide the money named above: "I said we  
they would have given = 100,000 if there was any probability of making a good  
attempt."<sup>63</sup> Evidently, the example of the governor in *standing by his guns*

<sup>60</sup> David ... gives some interesting figures in a letter to Sir James Oglethorpe,  
July 27, 1735:

"After the Gen'l left Port Gambell I order'd the militia to be  
rais'd in Frederick and Hampshire to defend the frontiers. ...  
after a number of ... and ... 150 in ...  
committed many robberies and murders. I found the militia were ...  
ly ... or seiz'd with such ... as not to resist the assaults of the  
Enemy. I therefore immediately rais'd three companies of ...  
then to range along our frontiers to annoy the enemy and show them no  
mercy as they have done our poor people. They have murdered ...  
I have order'd the whole militia of y<sup>e</sup> Dominion to be muster'd, their ...  
... to be rot'd to me, and ... I will make a large ...  
... to be ... force by force." Lin. ... vol. ii, ...

<sup>61</sup> The British plans to ...

<sup>62</sup> Lin. ... vol. ii, ... 143.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, ... 143.



...in order to inform Governor's, I think it is interesting to know that old Indian, the ... of the English and of their French foes. ... *any further participation* ... in such operations, such as Braden's, ... of French and Indians defected from it, to English, the ... while the French were "enemies, the Brit shew'd friends." It might have been interesting to old self-... have been ... Washington agreed with him!

In middle to Colonel Jones Patton, County-Lieutenant of Augusta County, August 1, 1755, Drazer MSS., 19945 (Lin. Pap., vol. 11, p. 132-3; ... to Colonel John Buchanan, of Augusta, referring to the recent death of Colonel Patton at the hands of the Indians, appointing Buchanan, or Lewis to Patton's place (Buchanan is senior officer), and concerning measures for defence, August 14, 1755, Drazer MSS., 19936, (Lin. Pap., vol. 11, p. 133; Devil Notions. (from court on Jatawba, to William Preston, November 14, 1755, having to do, in part with the ranging on the frontier, Drazer MSS., 19932; In middle to Preston, directing him to draft one-third of the militia for the relief of the frontier of Augusta County, April 24, 1756, Drazer MSS., 19913; Colonel Leonard Herdleten to Preston, concerning, in part, the alarm situation on the frontiers, May 12, 1756, Drazer MSS., 19914-5; Success's ... of war at Augusta Court House, May 20, 1756, Drazer MSS., 199130; ... 1756, Andrew Davis to Governor Bowdoin, relating the ... of Fort Valer, discussing measures for defence, and relating that the militia are ... their ... Drazer MSS., 199131-3.









**FOLD OUT**







...Lincoln-Drew ... Virginia  
as military leader  
August, 1857. ... until ... of 1857, ...  
with frontier conditions under the administration of Governor Linville. The  
letters which ... during this period ...  
that have been interpreted to show that there was no restriction ...  
No letters, so far as we know, were ever written by Linville to any ...  
trypically ... Washington adversely. He did write letters at times in ...  
respectful terms the two things -- usually ...  
of Fort Moberland -- with which he did not agree with ...  
other hand, ... wrote quite freely to his friends ...  
bigamous and violent ... Governor Linville gave his instructions. ...  
example of the kind was that written to John Robinson, Speaker of the House of  
Burgesses, in which the following significant sentences occur in reference to  
Linville's demands to Washington:

"My orders are ... doubtful, and a certain; today ... tomorrow condemned. Left to act and proceed at hazard, to draw ...  
consequences, and bleed without the benefit of defense, in ...  
situation, capable to excite the smallest degree of envy, or afford the  
least satisfaction, the truth is hid from you, ...  
regulation ... the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I ...  
fate of Virginia. His Lordship, I think, has received impressions ...  
ing to prejudice, by false representations of facts, ...  
... his letter to the Governor, ... which is ...  
ready to support Fort Moberland at all events." 71

Speaker Robinson thus the envious ... of ...  
In a reply to the above letter, ...  
regarding Fort Moberland which " ...  
trusted anything." ... the ...

71 ... Vol. 1, ...

















































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[illegible][illegible]



Washington and Governor Dinwiddie as to the number and location of forts, but in the main they were together in the scheme as a whole.

Governor Dinwiddie retired from his position as chief executive of the Virginia colony late in the year of 1757. About this time Washington was taken very ill and had to retire to Mount Vernon where for months he was bed-ridden and in a very weakened condition. When he again appeared upon the scene of action the famous Forbes expedition was gathering momentum and he was able to take part in it.

~~The expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne~~ is unique in the history of campaigns in that it partook of the nature of wearing out the enemy by forcing them to wait an interminable time for an attack. With a force of over six thousand men, ~~in operation~~ and consuming five months to reach the forks of the Ohio, Forbes, on November 26, 1758, "took possession of Fort Duquesne, or rather the place where it had stood."<sup>99</sup>

*The order of events was*  
~~The facts concerning this campaign are~~ as follows: In the summer of 1758 General Forbes was ordered by General Amherst, who then had command of the American forces, to undertake a campaign against Fort Duquesne. Forbes had in all, between six and seven thousand men. Of these about two thousand were Virginians,<sup>100</sup> among them Major Andrew Lewis and Captain Thomas Bullitt, each commanding a small number of men.<sup>1</sup> *not*

<sup>99</sup> Sparks, Writings of Washington, p. 101.

<sup>100</sup> See Draper MSS., 4ZZ41-53; Journals, 1758-61, p. 261-266.



It would have been the natural thing for General Forbes to have followed the Braddock route to Fort Duquesne, and Washington, as colonel of the First Virginia Regiment, advised this course. But for some reason General Forbes elected to cut a new way through the forest, and to fortify his way as he went. There is a suggestion in General Forbes' refusal to follow the Braddock route that he was superstitious about it. It had already been the route *by way of Royston, Loyal Hanna and Fort Ligonier,* several expeditions had taken and failed. anyhow, the course Forbes took consumed so much time that winter was upon him before he was in the proximity of Fort Duquesne. The only actual attempt against the enemy, by any of his men, was made by Major Grant, who pushed ahead with eight hundred men to reconnoitre and was ambushed, losing<sup>2</sup> half his men -- among them Major Lewis who was captured. Forbes seems to have become dispirited and would have recalled his forces for the winter, but by good fortune he learned from some prisoners that the Indians who had been with the French at the fort had become disgusted with waiting for General Forbes to make an attack, and had deserted the French. Thus the French were so weak that an attack of almost any sort would be successful. Washington with his regiment pushed on to the fort to find it disbanded and destroyed. Thus General Forbes took the Gibraltar of the Mountains! The British at once began the construction of a new fort which they appropriately called Fort Pitt, after the strong man who was at the helm of affairs in the Mother Country.

<sup>2</sup> William Fleming's list of "killed and missing in Grant's engagement," Sept., 14, 1758, Draper MSS., 3ZE48.



The fall of Fort Duquesne, which had been a base for Indian supplies and raids since 1754, was the most pronounced turn in affairs for the good of the Virginia frontier that had as yet been effected. Duquesne had been the scene of Brant's defeat, of Washington's capitulation, and Braddock's disaster. It had meant humiliation, death, and almost despair to the people of the Virginia colony. Governor Dinwiddie must have breathed a thankful prayer when he knew that at last this Gateway to the West was in the control of the British, and that the force left to command the new fort was composed of Washington's men.

With the fall of Fort Duquesne, Washington's direct connection with the defense of the frontier as a soldier <sup>now ended</sup> ~~came~~ to an end. He soon afterwards married ~~the wealthy~~ Mrs. John Parke Custis, celebrated for her beauty, wit, and wealth. Matters now began to take definite shape and the cruel years that Dinwiddie and he had suffered together were beginning to yield a harvest. Pitt was prime minister in England; the fall of Quebec was close at hand; and Washington had been elected in the meantime as a member of the house of burgesses. Washington had now a breathing spell before he was to assume his task as commander-in-chief of all the colonial forces of America in their war for independence.

Notwithstanding the service that Washington rendered his country in that great war, and notwithstanding what he did for the young Republic as its first president, it is doubtful whether he ever did or ever could render again such service as he gave America in the French and Indian war. Washington saw





from the first, with Dimidie, that the Ohio Valley was the key to the possession of the North American continent, and that Fort Duquesne was the key to the Ohio Valley, -- hence to lose that fort or to hold that fort meant to lose or <sup>to</sup> hold the continent of America. As this fortification was supposed at that time within the territory of Virginia, and as the ~~war~~ <sup>contest</sup> waged about that fort, and as Virginians felt that it was their task to take this place in behalf of the British government, we assert that the Virginia Frontier and the Virginia soldiers saw the most important operations connected with the French and Indian War.



Chapter F

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE WAR

The state of affairs in the French and Indian War up to 1757 has been very well described by Doctor Lyman C. Draper in a hitherto unpublished manuscript:

"The war had thus far (1757) resulted disastrously to the English cause, -- driven from the Ohio Valley; compelled to surrender Fort Necessity; overwhelmingly defeated at Monongahela; Fort William on Lake George carried and its garrison inhumanly massacred; frontier posts in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia taken, their inmates butchered, burned, or hopelessly captivated; well-digested campaigns miscarried; the whole northern frontier, by swarming bands of French and Indians, rendered almost one continuous scene of unexampled terror and desolation. General William Johnson had gained a victory over Dieskau, and Colonel John Armstrong made a successful expedition against Kittanning; all else wore an aspect sad and gloomy. But in 1758, the salutary effect of Pitt's new administration began to be powerfully felt, as well in Great Britain as the colonies; new life and energy were infused into every department. Expeditions wisely planned, were vigorously executed. Louisburg, Frontenac and Duquesne successively fell into the hands of the victorious English, and their only check was that of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga. These fortunate results paved the way for the capture of Niagara and Quebec the following year, and the ultimate conquest of all Canada; and with it, the final downfall of French power and dominion in North America."<sup>1</sup>

About the time the colonists thought that all war clouds had been completely swept away, a sudden storm burst upon them like a hurricane from the gulf regions, striking the southwestern frontier of Virginia and the western portions of the Carolinas. This outbreak is known in history as the Cherokee War. Fortunately, it was handled wisely and was, as a consequence, short-lived. This war against the Indians was confined almost entirely to Virginia and the Carolinas.



The facts concerning the cause of the war are about as follows: A body of Cherokees, early in 1758, joined Colonel Washington at Winchester, with a view to taking part in General Forbes' projected campaign against Fort Duquesne. As we have seen, General Forbes was slow in his movements against the fort and the Indians from the Cherokee tribe became impatient and returned home.<sup>2</sup>

On their way home, in passing through the Virginia colony, they were thoughtlessly guilty of some depredations in the way of horse-stealing. The colonists<sup>3</sup> without taking into consideration the easy morals of the Indians, fell upon the offenders and killed quite a number. The <sup>Surviving</sup> Indians consequently went back to their homes in a very bad mood and war would have broken out immediately but for the timely action of Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina who temporarily appeased the Indians and thus, for the time, prevented an outbreak.

A new element now enters.<sup>4</sup> Certain Frenchmen, after the fall of Fort Duquesne, made their way to the South and finding the Cherokee Indians somewhat alienated from their English neighbors, began a propaganda<sup>4</sup> of anti-British feeling, and were able also to make a treaty with the Cherokees.)

When Governor Lyttleton made his treaty with these Indians he had stipulated that they should surrender to the English certain bad Indians that had been foremost in making trouble in connection with the Forbes expedition. The Indians agreed to do this and in testimony of their good faith had left a number

<sup>2</sup> See Draper MSS., 2B70-71, referring to Virginia Gazette, May 26, 1758, Hewitt's Historical Account in Carroll's Coll., vol. i, p. 443, and Martin's North Carolina, vol. ii, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Wade and a party, letter of Governor Fauquier, Nov., 14, 1758, Preston Papers; Draper MSS., 2B72; and see Calendar of Virginia State Papers, vol. i, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Draper MSS., 2B72, 94, 98, referring to Maryland Gazette, May 24, June 21, and July 5, 1759, November 27, 1760, Pennsylvania Gazette, July 9, 1761.



of their warriors as hostages at Fort Prince George, in South Carolina. After the forces of South Carolina had been withdrawn from the region of the fort, the Indians made an attack upon it in order to rescue the men whom they had left as hostages. The garrison of the fort, disgusted and enraged at such treachery, killed the men that were held as hostages. Taking into consideration the strained relations that had existed between the Cherokees and the English colonists, augmented largely by French influence, the killing of their warriors held as hostages was the last straw. Indian hatred burst forth in all its fury, and the war was on.

As a natural next-step the Indians invested Fort Loudoun. This fort had been built by Major Andrew Lewis of Virginia in 1756 in the Cherokee Indian country, at the request of the Cherokees themselves, and was now garrisoned by two hundred British troops. It stood on the Holston River about thirty miles south of present Knoxville, Tennessee, and was in those days, supposed to be on Virginia soil. The Virginia assembly, on hearing of the danger to the fort, acted with decision. It voted (March, 1760) to maintain the Virginia regiment in the field until November 1, 1760, and also agreed to maintain three companies of one hundred men each to keep watch over the western frontier. The May (1760) session<sup>of the assembly</sup> hastily called, immediately authorized the raising of seven hundred men to be joined with the three hundred already on the border in the southwest, which combined force should make its way to the relief of Fort Loudoun. Unfortunately, the seven hundred men provided for were not raised, and the military forces to be used consisted only of the troops already in the field. The assembly voted, however, to retain in the service the men in the field until December, 1760, and allowed the governor to send them, if necessary, outside the province.





Colonel Montgomerie, acting under orders from General Amherst, now commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, with a small army of British regulars and Carolinians sought out the Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, and then relieved Fort Prince George. He abandoned, however, the attempt to raise the siege of Fort Loudoun. The Indians gave up their position, therefore, and the Virginians under Colonel Byrd were

never able to force their way to its rescue, -- *and was surrendered in 1761 and General Amherst, during the winter of 1760-61, concerted with the*

governors of Virginia and North and South Carolina a plan of campaign.<sup>5</sup>

Colonel James Grant, uniting a force of British regulars and South Carolina provincials, was to move to the attack of the Lower and Middle Cherokee towns;

Colonel William Byrd, with the provincials of Virginia and North Carolina, was to proceed at the same time down the Clinch and Tennessee rivers and make an attack on the Cherokee "Over Hill" towns, -- the towns beyond the mountains, in the valley of the Tennessee River. Grant succeeded<sup>6</sup> in his attempt. Colonel Byrd<sup>7</sup>, however, with six hundred men, took up most of his time building forts and roads, following somewhat the tactics of General Forbes on his way to Fort

5 Correspondence of General Jeffery Amherst, to Governors Francis Fauquier, of Virginia, William Bell, of South Carolina, Arthur Dobbs, of North Carolina, and Colonel William Byrd of Virginia, regarding the campaign, Draper MSS., 42226, 33, 35-39, 46-49, 54, 56; Journals, 1760-61, pp. 266-280.

6 Draper MSS., 2B98-103.

7 General Jeffery Amherst to Colonel William Byrd and Byrd to Amherst, July - August, 1761, Draper MSS., 42233, 36, 37-39, 56; Journals, 1760-61, pp. 278-280; Draper MSS., 2B92, referring to South Carolina Gazette, October 18, 1760, and Maryland Gazette, April 3, November 6, 20, December 24, 1760, and to Ribblesdale's Memoirs, p. 6.



Duquesne. The soldiers became dissatisfied and Colonel Byrd resigned in disgust; his place was taken by Colonel Adam Stephen. So much time having been already spent, Colonel Stephen marched rapidly to the Long Island of Roanoke, about one hundred miles from the enemy's settlements, and began the construction of a fort on the river near the Long Island, in compliance with Governor Fauquier's instructions. Before this fort, which was called Fort Robinson, was completed, a satisfactory peace was made with the Cherokees, November 19, 1760. Thus ended the Cherokee war.

The Virginia regiment was for a short time reconstituted by the March assembly of 1762, when the news was received that England had declared war on Spain. A regiment of one thousand men was held on the western frontier until order was given to disband the force in May, 1763.

"It broke up just when needed,"<sup>8</sup> says Eckenrode, "for in 1763 the Indians of the whole frontier, acting with a unity they never attained before or afterwards, attacked the British posts from Mackinaw to Fort Pitt, laying waste the settlements in New York, Maryland, and Virginia. The Virginia regiment had been disbanded because the board of trade would not allow the colony to issue the paper money needed for its maintenance, but in August, 1763, the governor and council called out one thousand militia from Hampshire and the adjoining counties, half of them under the command of Colonel Adam Stephen and half under Major Andrew Lewis, both of whom were now officers of the best quality."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> And see William Fleming to Governor Fauquier, July 26, 1763, reporting the general consternation brought about by the invasion of Augusta, Draper MSS., 32250-51.

<sup>9</sup> H. J. Eckenrode, List of Colonial Soldiers of Virginia, p. 13.



The war spoken of here is known in history as Pontiac's War. It followed after the formal closing of the French and Indian War. The fall of Quebec practically closed the French and Indian War, but it was not officially terminated until the Peace of Paris in 1763. Pontiac's War does not come within the purview of this study, but it has practical bearings on the Virginia frontier too important to be left unnoticed.)

Although this was the most concerted movement that the Indians had ever attempted against the English colonists, and the movement was led by the most capable and ambitious of the Indian leaders, -Pontiac,- still, two elements entered into the contest which rendered the defeat of the Indians certain. The first of these was, the Indians lacked the cooperation and the leadership of their former French allies; the second was the character of the fortifications which the Indians had to overcome in order to reach the heart of the English colonies. Here the fine work of Dinwiddie and Washington will be noted for the last time. The Virginia frontier was so effectively fortified that with anything like a force garrisoning the fortifications, such an attack as Pontiac made, even if he had thrown his whole force against them, was bound to be unsuccessful. ~~As matters were,~~ <sup>stood</sup> Colonel Bouquet, with five hundred men, at the old strategic point, which had now been called Fort Pitt, was able to defeat the Indians, August 5-6, 1763; and later, with 1,500 men, he marched into the Ohio country and compelled the Indians to sue for peace. Pontiac demurred, hoping for aid from the French, but he finally gave in, though unwillingly, at Oswego in 1766. So aggressive had become the Virginia frontier and so far had it pushed westward at the time of which we now write that in the famous battle of Point Pleasant which took place in 1774, where Colonel Andrew Lewis com-



pletely isolated the Indians, he had to penetrate to farther west as the Ohio River in order to reach the enemy.

Virginia, as well as the other colonies, was now practically safe from concerted Indian attacks. They had their arms so well in hand, and their leaders so ably developed that they could turn a united front to meet the forces of the mother country, defeat those forces, and after eight years of war under the leadership of Washington, actually win their independence.





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INFLUENCE ON THE FRONTIER

The English nation has always been strong in defense. Once having taken an advanced position and fortified it, the English instinct was to hold it to the bitter end. In line with this trait of national character, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia saw from the very first that the extended frontier of the colony must be fortified at strategic points. He outlined a plan<sup>1</sup> which finally resulted in a cordon of forts, stockades, and block-houses which stretched along the entire frontier<sup>2</sup> of Virginia, joining the colonies to the North and to the South, thus fortifying the outposts of the English settlements from Crown Point, New York, to the borders of Georgia. The mind of Dinwiddie and the hand of Washington manifested themselves in the fact that the Virginia frontier was literally dotted with these fortifications, while the frontiers of the other colonies North and South were meagerly <sup>defended</sup> fortified. There was some difference of opinion between Governor Dinwiddie and Washington as to the number of forts, but as the following letter will show, <sup>the governor</sup> ~~Dinwiddie~~ left that matter largely to Washington:

<sup>1</sup> Dinwiddie presented his plan to the British Lords of Trade in February, 1756. He proposed to pay for the building of the forts and the maintenance of their garrisons by a land and poll tax, levied in all the colonies by act of Parliament. Dinwiddie Papers, vol. i, pp. 96-97; vol. ii, pp. 338-346; 406-8; 434-435; 460-461; 478-483; W. C. Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 261 (note).

<sup>2</sup> Although a few of the forts were standing as early as 1754 and 1755, most of them were built about 1756, and continued to do service until the end of the war; some of them stood until many years afterward.



"Sir:

Your Letter of the 4th I rec'd and I sent it to Mr. Cosby. I observe you have been much engag'd in settling the proper places for the Chain of Forts propos'd to be built, and I doubt not the places you have pitched upon are the best proper, as you know the situation of the Country, and are the best Landre thereof. . . . The building of Forts is a necessary work, but the protecting of the frontiers is more essential, therefore I w'd recommend as much as you possibly can to have Y<sup>r</sup> Men at Jail in any approaching Danger, tho' I think it will be impracticable when divided at such a Distance, unless you appoint a proper Place for a general Rendezvous on proper Islands given, wch you are the only Judge of from y<sup>r</sup> Knowledge of the Country. . . . I have order'd three Forts in Halifax and one in Bedford to be built by the Militia and Garrison'd by them some time.

S<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> mo. humble Serv't." <sup>3</sup>

The Governor and Washington agreed on this one principle, namely, that a fortification built far out on the frontier had the advantage of inducing the people to venture farther westward<sup>4</sup> into the more congested sections of the colony. This leading of the people out towards the west served the purpose of having more of the territory taken up by hardy frontiersmen who acted both as an advance guard to protect the more eastern sections and as a friendly vanguard in dealing with the Indians.

The defenses on the Virginia Frontier were of three classes, -- block-houses, stockades, and forts. The block-houses were simple, two-storied, log buildings, and square, having the second story projecting beyond the lower. There were numerous rifle holes through the logs so that the defenders could fire down upon assailants without great danger of being themselves hit by re-

<sup>3</sup> Written August 9, 1760, D. C. O., vol. ii, pp. 270-280.

<sup>4</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 200-31.



turn shots. The stockade, - a line of earth with palisade, - was -  
er than the blockhouse. It was usually made of - a structure, 8 to 10 stories  
in height, surrounded at a distance by a high fence of stakes driven into the  
ground. The forts were the most pretentious of the fortifications, containing  
as a rule the features of both the other kinds of buildings. They were gen-  
erally rectangular, having block-houses at the four corners and these connected  
by a palisaded fence. The doors of the block-houses opened into the inner  
court.

The stockades and forts were more than merely used as posts for  
garrisons; they were the places of refuge to which the people in the vicinity  
of the forts flocked, and in which they sought shelter when Indians made attacks  
in the neighborhood. At one time, in 1755, the ravages of the Indians were  
having such a demoralizing effect on the frontier that Washington suggested  
that the people on the frontier be compelled to group themselves together into  
villages, very much after the manner of the French farm villages of today.

As an outcome of Dinwiddie's agitation of the matter of frontier de-  
fense, an act was passed in March, 1756, at the first session of the new assem-  
bly of 1756-58, which provided, "That a chain of forts shall be erected, to  
begin at Henry Enochs, on Great-Cape-Capon, in the county of Hampshire, and to  
extend to the South-Fork of Mayo-River, in the county of Halifax, to consist of  
such a number, and at such distance from each other, as shall be thought nec-  
essary and directed by the governor, or commander in chief of this colony, for  
the time being. . . ."<sup>5</sup> The responsibility for the building of these forts fell  
ultimately upon Washington.

<sup>5</sup> Henning, vol. vii, pp. 17-18.



**FOLD OUT**





In pursuance of the authorization of the Virginia Council, in March, 1756, for the building of the cordon of forts, a council of war was called at Augusta Court House<sup>6</sup>, July 27, 1756. The following record<sup>7</sup> of the council of war gives the locations of the forts, their distance from each other, and the number of men estimated to garrison each one of them.<sup>8</sup>

"At a Council of War held at Augusta Court House (in obedience to his Honor the Governor's Orders). By the undersigned officers.

PRESENT

Col. John Buchanan & David Stewart.

Major John Brown

Captains Joseph Julton

Robert Scott

Patrick Martin

Am. Christian

Robert Breckenridge

James Lockart

Israel Christian

Samuel Stalnicker

Thomas Armstrong

"Who having taken their seats proceeded to business.

"Whereas his Honor the Governor has sent repeated orders to the officers of the Militia of this country to meet and consult on the most proper Places to build forts along the frontiers for the protection of the inhabitants. . .

"It is agreed that the following numbers of men is necessary to be placed at each fort.

6 Now Staunton, Virginia, where the first court in Augusta County was held, 1745.

7 For the complete record see Appendix, . .

8 Not all of them were built.



	Men
at John's Fort . . . . .	30
at Vances (Fort Vass) . . . . .	70
at Campbell's Fort. . . . .	50
at McNeal's Fort. . . . .	50
at Fort William. . . . .	50
at John's Creek . . . . .	50
at Capt. Dickens (Dickensons) Fort. . . . .	40
at Capt. Brackenridge Fort. . . . .	50
at Capt. Miller's Fort. . . . .	50
at Harper's Fort . . . . .	50
at Trout Rock Fort. . . . .	50
at Hugh Man's Mill. . . . .	50
at Petersens. . . . .	50
Dinwiddie. . . . .	60

exclusive of  
Officers

680 men in all to  
protect the frontiers.

"It is agreed that the commanding officers give orders that Fort Vase (Vass) be made at least one hundred feet square in the clear; and that the stockades be at least fourteen feet long; that all the other forts be made 60 feet square with two bastions in each fort, provided the same be agreeable to Capt. Peter Hog, who is supposed to have his Honor, the Governor's Orders to oversee the Constructing of the said chain of forts. The distance between each fort above mentioned, or the place agreed for them to be built, on, are as follows (viz)

	Miles
From the County Line to Peterson's . . . . .	2
From Peterson's to Hugh Man's Mill . . . . .	18
from thence to Trout Rock . . . . .	17
From Trout Rock to Mathew Harper's. . . . .	20
from thence to Capt. Miller's . . . . .	18
from thence to Fort Dinwiddie. . . . .	15
from thence to Capt. Brackenridge's Fort . . . . .	13
from thence to Fort Dickenson . . . . .	13
from thence to John's Creek . . . . .	25
from thence to Fort William. . . . .	20
From Fort William to Neal McNeal's . . . . .	13
From thence to Capt. Campbell's . . . . .	13
From thence to Capt. Vances (Vass's) . . . . .	12
From thence to John Mason's . . . . .	20

From thence to the first Inhabitants in  
Halifax County South side of Ridge-  
By which we find our Frontiers ex-  
tend.

250 miles in all.



"The above resolves are signed by all the Officers present this 27 day of July 1756.

THAT:

Wm. Preston, Clk.

Council of War.

John Buchanan  
David Stewart  
John Brown  
Joseph Walton  
Robert Scott  
James Lockart  
Israel Christian  
Jm. Christian  
James Mitchell  
Robert Brackenridge  
Thomas Armstrong  
Patrick Martin  
Samuel Stalnaker"<sup>9</sup>

In the meantime, Washington, without awaiting the decision of the Council of War at Augusta, prepared, July 21, 1756, the following letter of instructions for Captain Peter Hog,<sup>10</sup> of the Virginia regiment, who was to engage in building the southern section of the chain of forts. This letter very well pictures for us the nature of the task before Washington and his subordinates.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN PETER HOG, OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

Sir:

As the Assembly has voted a chain of forts to be built on the Frontiers, The Governor has ordered out the Militia of Augusta to assist you in erecting them, and it was determined in a Council of War<sup>11</sup> held at Fort Cumberland, agreeable to the Governor's orders, that you should have the care of construct'g them, and that you should receive directions to Build at or about 20 or 30 miles distance, as the situation of the Country requires, or Ground will permit, and to have particular regard to the Body of Inhabitants to be defended, and the passes most frequented by the Enemy, and that Capt. Hog begin to build, observing the above considerations, to the Southward of Fort Dinwiddie, extending the Line towards

<sup>9</sup> Virginia Magazine of History, vol. xiv, pp. 247-251, (1907-1908)

<sup>10</sup> Captain Hog already had had experience in building forts, for example, see his letter to Washington from Fort Dinwiddie, November 29, 1755. C. M. Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 137-8.

<sup>11</sup> Held October 30, 1756, Washington, Writings (Ford's ed.) vol. i, p. 364.



ago River as directed by the Assembly.'

You are, therefore, as soon as possible, to proceed to Augusta Court-house and consult with the Commanding Officers, and others of that County, and fall upon the most expeditious methods to raise the Militia, with which and Your own Company, except about 30 private wh. you are to leave under the Command of Lt. Bullet, at Fort Dinwiddie, and set immediately upon that Duty, taking Care also to observe the orders herewith sent you by his Honor, the Governor, and to draft the best Workmen to take with you.

If you are apprehensive that the Enemy will annoy you, and endeavour to obstruct your erecting these Forts, You are first to proceed to the place which shall be judged most convenient for the defense of the Inhabitants, and Erect your first Fort there - if not - proceed as first directed.

You are, while upon this Work, to keep out constant covering parties, and above all things guard against a surprize.

I have sent you herewith a plan of the kind of Forts you are to build, which you must follow exactly.

The men drafted from your Company for this command will receive double pay for every day they work, wh. you are to be exact in taking account of. 'tis the Same that's allowed the soldiers here who work, and the Militia will receive 6d. extra for every day they work. Both Soldiers and Militia here are contented w<sup>th</sup> this allowance.

I hope your own Company with the Addition of the Militia, will be sufficient force to conduct this work, but lest dividing your Men may subject your seperated partys to the insult of the Enemy, I wou'd have you keep in a Body and Build Fort after Fort, leaving Garrisons in them from 15 to 30 men under comand of a sub or Trusty Sergeant.

As the Difficulty of getting Pools in these parts is not easily to be conceived, I would advise you to pursue the same methods in Augusta that I have done here, vizt., to get of the Inhabitants, giving receipts for the quantity and Sorts of Each, and paying for the use, also the damage and Loss, if any is sustain'd, but to buy wou'd be best; if this you can do, take particular care of the whole you receive.

Given under my hand, at Winches'r, 21st of July, 1756.

G<sup>o</sup>. Washington!<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Dinwiddie Papers, vol. ii, p. 460-461.





Without much regard to the decision of the council of war held at Augusta Court House on July 27, 1756, Washington on his own initiative, in the fall of 1756, drew up the following plan for the requisite number of forts, including the size of each garrison, and the location of each fort. This plan, based upon the act of assembly of March, 1755, he thought would adequately protect the entire frontier.

" LOCATION OF THE FORTS

"A plan of the number of forts, and strength necessary to each extending entirely across our Frontiers, from South to North. -

Names of the Ports, or Persons commanding in them	On what waters Placed	Distance from each other in miles	No. of men garrisoning each
Capt. Harris	Mayo		20
Galloway	Smith's River	12	20
Terry	Black Water	26	20
Hog	Roanoke	26	150
Not built	Do at Bryants	18	50
Fort William	Catawba Bra. of James River	16	75
Not built	Craik's Creek, Bra. of Jas. River	15	40
Dickensons	Jackson's River	18	250
Brakenridge	" "	16	40
Fort Dinwiddie	" "	14	100
Christy	" "	15	40
Between this and Trout Rock - not yet built	- - - - -	18	50
Trout Rock, not built	South Branch	15	75
Upper Settlement	" "	20	60
Fort Defiance	" "	20	60
Fort Pleasant	" "	20	60
Fort at Cooke's	Tattersen's Crk	20	500
Fort at Ashby's	" "	12	60
Fort at Parrier's	South Branch	10	30
Enoch's, not built	Jacapehon	15	75
Madstone	Potomack	30	125
Winchester	- - - - -	--	100
TOTAL			2,000



"This plan is calculated as the most efficient means, and for sparing the costly expenses, and I believe with tolerable success, to answer the design of protecting the inhabitants. It may be objected that the distance between some of the forts is too small; in answer to which I must observe they are generally fixed on the heads of creeks, &c, extending towards the Alleghany Mountains with almost inaccessible mountains between them, and are placed in the most commodious manner for securing the inhabitants of such waters. Some Garrisons are larger than others, according as they cover a thick or thin settlement. The fort at Voss's (which Capt. Hog is now building) is in a much exposed place; subject to the inroads of the Southern Indians, and in a manner covers the greatest part of Bedford and Halifax.

"Dickenson's is situated for the defence of a once numerous and fertile settlement, on the Bull Cow & Calf pastures; and lies directly in the Shawnee path to Ohio, and must be a place of rendezvous, if an expedition is conducted against the Ohio Indians below Duquesne.

"The Garrisons on the Potomack waters, are yet larger than any; because an invasion is most to be dreaded on this quarter.

"It will be seen Fort Cumberland is not mentioned in this plan. If we act only on the defensive (a system on which this plan is founded) I think it employs a large garrison to very little advantage to Virginia. If we act offensively, it may be of infinite use, if properly fortified; and the Garrison at Cocks's will then only consist of about 50 or 60, as the rest may be removed to Fort Cumberland." <sup>13</sup>

The actual building of the series of forts involved many problems.

The work was to begin at both ends of the chain and to proceed towards the center. It was Washington's intention, as he said, to 'visit all the ground he conveniently could, and direct the building' of all the forts, -- he himself to begin at the Potomac (in the late summer of 1793) and work southward so as to meet Captain Hog who was to start at the Mayo River at the same time and construct northward. Washington graphically pictures some of the drawbacks that he encountered:

<sup>13</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 371-373.



"It is a . . . scarcity of tools, sickness of our numbers, and want of conductors. The strength of our forces will not admit of many divisions, because, in that case, each party will probably be demolished. We can, therefore, only attempt, with such men as can be drawn out of the garrisons already established, to build fort after fort, and not, by attempting too many at a time, thereby run the risk of having the whole demolished. To go on in the manner above mentioned must be extremely tedious." <sup>14</sup>

Washington's tours to the forts on the border inspired some letters to Governor Dinwiddie. These letters are illuminating to us in our day. He takes no pains to conceal the worthlessness of the militia, the sorrowful condition of the settlers, and the obstacles in the way of building the forts. One letter to the governor from Halifax (county), October 10, 1756, continues:

"We got safely to Voss's, where Captain Hog, with only eighteen of his company, was building a fort, which must employ him until Christmas without more assistance. One Captain Hunt from Lunenburg, who was there with thirty men; but none of them would strike a stroke, unless I would engage to see them paid forty pounds of tobacco per day, which is provided by act of Assembly for militia carpenters. This I certainly could not do, as your Honor, (who I thought had ordered them purposely out for this duty,) had given no directions in the affair. . . The militia never lent a hand. . . ." <sup>15</sup>

<sup>16</sup>  
The following letter from Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, written November 9, 1756, is a report on general frontier conditions as Washington saw them during his minute inspection of all the forts, and is so characteristic that we cannot do better than to give a considerable extract from it.

"This jaunt, which had just been concluded, afforded me an opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants.

"I found them (the garrisons) very weak for want of men; but more so by indolence and irregularity. None I saw in a posture of defence,

<sup>14</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 257-258; see also *ibid.*, pp. 295-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 356.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 379.



and now that it is to be surprised with the nextest case. I suppose of this appeared at Dickson's Fort, where the Indians ran down, caught several children playing under the walls, and had not to the gate before they were discovered. Was not Voss's Fort surprised, and a good many souls lost, in the same manner? They keep no guard, but just when the enemy is about; and are under fearful apprehensions of them; nor even stir out of the forts, from the time they reach them, till relieved on their month being expired; at which time they march off, be the event what it will. So that the neighborhood may be ravaged by the enemy, and they not the wiser. Of the ammunition they are as careless as of the provisions, firing it away frequently at targets for wagers. On our journey, as we approached one of these forts, we heard a quick fire for several minutes, and concluded for certain that they were attacked; so we marched in the best manner to their relief; but when we came up, we found they were diverting at marks. These men afford no assistance to the unhappy settlers, who are drove from their plantations, either in securing their harvests, or gathering in their corn. Lieutenant Bullett, commanding ad Fort Cumberland, sent to Major Lewis of Albemarle, who commanded a party of sixty militia at Miller's, a bout fifteen miles above him, where were also thirty men of Augusta, for some men to join his small parties to gather the corn. Major Lewis refused assistance, and would not divide his men. I wrote to him, but got no answer. Mr. Bullett has a line that he could with his few men, not quite thirty. Of the many forts, which I passed by, I saw but one or two that had their captains present, they being absent chiefly on their own business, and had given leave to several of the men to do the same. Yet these persons, I will venture to say, will charge the country their full month's pay. . . ."

In the spring of 1757 the assembly having considered at length "the great Expence the Virg'a Regim't had cost the Country," completely remodelled that military organization and placed detachments of it at selected forts on the frontier. The governor's instructions to Washington at that time follow:

"INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDANT-IN-CHIEF  
OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

Sir:

You are, so soon as you arrive at Fort Loudoun, to inform the officers that the Assembly having consider'd the great Expence the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country from the No. of Companies it has consisted of, and those Companies not half compleat in proportion to the vast Charge of officers, It is resolv'd, for the better saving of Expences and establishing a proper Regulation, that the said Regim't shall consist only of ten companies of 100 Men each; that all the Captains but seven be reduc'd.





Those I have thought proper to continue are Captains: Moor, Waggoner, Stewart, Joshua Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. The others discontinued in the Command of Captains (not from any particular Disrespect or Demerit imputed) You are to offer Lieutenants, and complement the No. of Lieut'ts to 20 out of the eldest Subalterns, unless there be some whose Conduct does not entitle 'em to the Preference. The Designs for the Regim't are to consist of 10, and to be fill'd up in the same manner, having regard to their Characters and Behaviour.

After the Companys are form'd You are to occupy the following Posts in the following Manner till y'r Numbers are increas'd Vizt:

At Fort Loudoun,	100 Men,	commanded by Yourself.
At Maidstone,	70 Men,	Do., by Capt. Stewart.
At Edwards'	25 Men,	Do., by a Subaltern.
At Persall's	45 Men,	Do., by Capt. McKenzie.
In the Neighborhood of Butter Milk Port,	70 Men,	Do., by Capt. Waggoner.
At Dickinson's	70 Men,	Do., by Maj'r Lewis.
At Vass's	70 Men,	Do., by Capt. Woodward.

You are to remain at Winchester, and there use your utmost Diligence and Care in forwarding the public Works with all possible Expedition.

You are to continue all the assistant Commissarys that are requisite 'till such (time) as the Assembly comes to some further Resolution on this head -- and issue your Orders accordingly. You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose, and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence. As soon as the Assembly have resolved on the ways and Means of raising Men, I shall advise you thereof, that you may be prepared for their reception, and send officers to meet them if ordered so to do.

Given at Williamsburg this 16th day of May, 1757.<sup>17</sup>

The following brief letter<sup>18</sup> from Governor Dinwiddie to Captain Stewart, who was in command at Fort Maudstone, throws light on the conditions on the Virginia border late in 1757. At the same time it shows the confidence

<sup>17</sup> Din. Pap., vol. ii, pp. 622-623.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, p. 720.



that Dimid is continue to live in Washington.

"GOVERNOR DIMID IN TO CAPTAIN BURNHAM."

Dec'r 9th, 1757.

Sir:

Y'rs of the 2d I rece'd, and observe its Contents. Yo. can't possibly think it proper to go to the Ho'w'd unless y'r station at Fort Loudoun be duly supplied. Maj'r Lewis can't leave his Command in Augusta, and unless Maj'r Sher's Fort be supplied with a proper Person I can't advise his leaving of it, and as I am a stranger to that Part of the Country I must again refer it to Colo. Washington, and what he does will meet with my Approbation, but at the same Time consider if it will not be disagreeable to L'd Loudoun to leave the front'rs if the different Ports are not commanded by good Officers, and L'd Loudoun is not yet come to his winter Q'rs, but is now at F't Edward, w'ch will be a long Journey. However, as above, I leave it to Colo. Washington. I'm glad to hear Cox and Lane got safe in to Capt. McKenzie's Fort, and their Skirmish shews the Necessity of Detachments from all the Ports to be out in Ranging Parties, w'ch at times may probably find some of the Enemy in their lurking Places; and this Duty I have frequently recommended and ordered, and I'm Convinced it wou'd prove of essential Service. I shall be glad to hear of Capt. McKenzie's Return, as it will be attended with Danger. Yo. do not mention the Ho. that march'd with him. As the Man-of-War I expected to accomodate me home is not yet arrived, it makes my Departure very uncertain. I wish yo. Health, and I rema.,

S'r Y'r H'ble Serv't."



**FOLD OUT**



## Appendix I.

Fortifications, and the Chain of Forts on the Virginia Frontier during the French and Indian War.

The following list of forts<sup>19</sup> on the Virginia frontier, for the period of the French and Indian War, is arranged alphabetically. Brief statements are made as to the location, history, and citations to original sources of information, or to authorities having had access thereto, concerning each fort, stockade, and block-house mentioned.

<sup>19</sup> Chain of forts suggested, Ford, Writings of Washington, Vol. I, pp. 236, 256, 262; Dinwiddie's idea, ibid., p. 261; plan of, ibid., pp. 292-3; began, ibid., p. 295-6; suspended, ibid., p. 325; difficulties, ibid., p. 347; location of, ibid., pp. 371-3.





(1) Fort Ashby<sup>20</sup>

Fort Ashby was a stockade on the east bank of Rattersen's Creek, twelve miles from the "Fort at Cockey's" on the same stream. It was erected in 1755 by Lieutenant John Bacon under orders from Colonel Washington, on the site of the present village of Alaska, Mineral County, West Virginia. It had a garrison of sixty men. Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Alexandria, January 14, 1756, with reference to Fort Ashby:

"... I have already built two forts on Rattersen's Creek, (which have engaged the chief part of the inhabitants to return to their plantations;) and have now ordered Captain Suggener with sixty men to build and garrison two others, (at places I have pointed out high up on the South Branch,) which will be a means of securing near an hundred miles of our frontiers, exclusive of the command at Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's River."

On December 27, 1755, Captain Lewis, of Fredericksburg, assumed command at this fort in which he found a garrison of twenty-one men. The next spring, May 23, 1756, Colonel Washington issued orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen to have "the forts of Ashby, Cockey, etc., plentifully furnished" from Fort Cumberland, Maryland, twenty-five miles away. In August of that year, Lieutenant Robert Rutherford, with a company of rangers, was defeated here by the Indians. Captain John Ashby in 1756 made a remarkable escape from the Indians, reaching this fort in safety.

<sup>20</sup> Denham, *History of the Early Settlements and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, p. 204; Kercheval, *History of the Valley* (ed. 1833), p. 126; Foner's Edition of "Washington's Journal over the Mountains, 1747-8"; "Journal of Captain Charles Lewis," printed in the *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, vol. xi, p. 216, n.s.; Dinwiddie Papers, vol. ii, p. 139; Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii, pp. 11, 126, 162, 167; Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, vol. i, pp. 167, 182, 220, 267, 268, 321, 330; V. A. Lewis, *First Biennial Report of Archives and History of West Virginia*, p. 237.



**FOLD OUT**

61.

the 6th of June 1861

(2) Wallace Austin's Fort<sup>21</sup>

The record we have of Austin's fort is rather fragmentary. The fort stood on Bull Pasture River, *in present Pocahontas or Greenbrier county, West Virginia.* William Preston was engaged in building it early in April, 1757, in pursuance of orders of February 23, 1757. It was eighty feet square and its walls were the "best of the kind in the country." Preston had called together the people in the Bull Pasture region to meet him at Wallace Austin's "to consult on a proper place to build a fort for their Defense." Nine of the men who met together there voted for the location of the fort on the Bull Pasture River. Local references thus sometimes determined the location of the less important forts. Preston paid the "15 good hands" a shilling a day for their work. The fort having been begun March 8, he hoped to complete it in "six or seven days," but bad weather retarded his progress and the inhabitants round about gave little of the aid promised. Besides, as he reported, "I could not get one man to join the work until I agreed to see him paid." The total cost Preston reckoned at about £15.

(3) Fort Brackenridge<sup>22</sup>

*in Greenbrier County, West Virginia*  
Fort Brackenridge was situated on Jackson's River, sixteen miles from Dickinson's fort on the same stream. Its garrison was forty men. Washington, Colonel Buchanan, and others visited it in the fall of 1756.

<sup>21</sup> Preston to Lewis, April 4, 1757. Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 1491b1.

<sup>22</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. ii, p. 306.



(4) Fort Buttermilk <sup>23</sup>

Fort Buttermilk was a stockade. It was situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, about three miles above the present site of Moorefield, in Hardy County, West Virginia. It was erected by Captain Thomas Wagoner under orders from Colonel Washington in 1756. Eighteen men from this fort joined the garrison from Fort Pleasant in the desperate "Battle of the Trough" on the South Branch in 1756. On May 16, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie ordered Washington to station at this fort seventy men under Captain Thomas Wagoner. For this reason it is referred to by some writers as "Fort Wagoner."

(5) Fort on Long Island. <sup>24</sup>

Colonel Byrd's fort was at the Long Island on the upper Holston in East Tennessee.

(6) Fort Capon <sup>25</sup>

Fort Capon was a small stockade fort which stood at the "Forks of Capon" in the Great Cacapon Valley, in present Hampshire County, West Virginia. The men who garrisoned it cultivated the fertile fields of low ground about four miles from the fort. In 1757 or 1758, two of them, one named

<sup>23</sup> Referred to in Washington to Dinwiddie, January 14, 1756, Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 221; see Fort Ashby above, p. 107; Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. ii, pp. 72, 96.

<sup>24</sup> Semple, L. C., American History in its Geographic Relations, p. 61; Draper MSS., Virginia Papers, 32235; Hamilton, vol. i, p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> Mercheval, C., History of the Valley (1833 ed.), p. 126.





(7) Fort at Shoto 26

There was a "Fort at Shoto," in the Cherokee Indians' country, built by Virginia and garrisoned by British troops.

(8) Fort Christy 27

Fort Christy was located on Jackson's River, fifteen miles from Fort Dinwiddie on the same stream, and eighteen miles from Fort Mifflin, farther up the river. Its garrison was forty men.

(9) Fort Cox 28

Fort Cox was a stockade situated, according to Vergil M. Lewis, on the lower point of land on the Potomac at the mouth of the Little C&ca on River. Here, on April 25, 1750, George Washington, then eighteen years of age, surveyed a tract of two hundred forty acres for his "friend Cox." Ford's writings of Washington, volume i, page 311, says: "This fort was on Ratterton's Creek, twenty-five miles from Fort Cumberland." It is shown on Washington's map of the Upper Potomac (1755); also, on Thomas Hutchins' topographical map of Virginia and Pennsylvania, published in London, in 1773, by order of Parliament. Colonel Washington, on May 23, 1756, gave orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen to have Fort Cox furnished supplies from Fort Cumberland, Maryland; and on May 5, 1756, Washington wrote John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, recommending that Fort Cox be made the depot of supplies

26 Henning, Statutes at Large, vol.vii, p. 62.

27 Ford, writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372.

28 Hamilton, vol. i, p. 162; vol. ii, p. 277.



for the upper Potomac defenses. Washington, when on his journey to the Ohio in 1770, was on the spot where Fort Cox had stood, but it had disappeared. Washington, who spelled the name "Cocke's," considered this fort an important defense, and he included it in his plan of forts submitted in 1756.

(10) Fort Chiswell<sup>29</sup>

Fort Chiswell was constructed in 1758 at the meeting point of the Richmond and Valley of Virginia roads at "the forks of the road." It was built as a protection against the Cherokee. Its location was on a portage between the Holston and the New Rivers, just west of the eighty-first meridian.

(11) Craig's Creek Fort<sup>30</sup>

Very little is known of Craig's Creek Fort. Andrew Lewis wrote to Governor Dinwiddie in June, 1756, that he had "Ordered Captain Dunlap with a Company to a Fort at the mouth of Craig's Creek, and the Bedford Militia I hope will protect the same."

(12) Colonel Crissop's Fort<sup>31</sup>

Colonel Crissop's Fort stood upon Colonel Thomas Cresop's farm, "Chipton," a few miles above the North and South branches of the Potomac. Captain Thomas Cocke's Journal records, October 5, 1755, that, "... the french and Indians had killed several families and Besieged Col Crissop's Fort."

<sup>29</sup> Summers, History of Southwest Virginia; Semple, American History, limits Geographic Conditions.

<sup>30</sup> Draper MSS., Weston Papers, 144131-133.

<sup>31</sup> Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, p. 117; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 37.



(13) Fort Cumberland<sup>32</sup>

Fort Cumberland (the location being sometimes referred to as Mill's Creek), where present Cumberland, Maryland, stands, was an important point. The Ohio Land Company built a warehouse there as early as 1750. The location lay directly across the path westward from Virginia, Maryland, and even southern Pennsylvania, to the "Forks of the Ohio." Braddock's route led by it.

This fort was the occasion of numerous disputes between Maryland and Virginia. The fort stood on Maryland territory, yet it was directly on the way from tidewater Virginia to Fort Duquesne and was of great strategic importance to Virginia. There were constant differences between these two colonies as to how strongly guarded this place should be, and who should furnish the garrison. Usually, Maryland furnished half of it and Virginia the other half.

At Fort Cumberland a council of war was held on October 30, 1756, "in pursuance of an Order received from Colonel George Washington, agreeable to an order from Governor Dinwiddie to consult whether it is most for the advantage of His Majesty's Service, to keep or demolish Fort Cumberland." <sup>33</sup>

Present.

Lieut. Colo: Adam Stephen, President.

Members:

Capt. Wm. Bronaugh  
Capt. Robt. Spotswood  
Capt. Wm. Leachy  
Lt. Austin Brockenborough  
Lt. Mordecai Buckner  
Ensn. Edwd. Halbard  
Ensn. Charles Smith  
Ensn. Griffin Bert

Capt. Hen. Woodward  
Capt. Chas. Lewis  
Lt. Peter Steenberger  
Lt. James Baker  
Ensn. Wm. Dangerfield  
Ensn. Nathl. Thompson  
Ensn. John Lawson

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton, vol. 1 p.

<sup>33</sup> Washington could not be present as he was visiting the forts along the southern frontier. Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. 1, p. 338.



It was considered to continue the fort, although at York-  
sidered it "a place very useless in itself, and expensive to the  
country, containing over 150 men solely employed in guarding the  
stores, which could be better defended at any other place."

Washington, in 1756, submitted a plan for twenty-two forts to guard  
the frontier. "It will be seen," he says, that "Fort Cumberland is not men-  
tioned in this plan. If we act only on the defensive (a system on which this  
plan is founded) I think it employs a large garrison to very little advantage  
to Virginia. If we act offensively, it may be of infinite use, if properly  
fortified, and the Garrison at Cockes's will then only consist of about 50  
or 60, as the rest may be removed to Fort Cumberland." 34

Washington wrote to Dinwiddie from Alexandria, January 14, 1756,  
that the Fort Cumberland "situation, which is extremely bad, will ever be an  
eyesore to this colony. . . ." 35

Lord Loudoun wrote from Albany on September 22, 1756: "I do hope  
and trust that the Government of Virginia will not suffer the loss of Fort  
Cumberland to be wrested from them." Dinwiddie instructed Washington to main-  
tain the fort if possible. 36

#### (14) Fort Defiance 37

Fort Defiance was situated on the South Branch of the Potomac,  
twenty miles from Fort Pleasant on the same branch. Its allotted garrison  
was sixty men.

34 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 373.

35 Ibid., vol. i, p. 221.

36 Ibid., vol. i, p. 371.

37 Ibid., vol. i, p. 372.





(15) Fort Dickinson<sup>38</sup>

Fort Dickinson stood on the Cow Pasture River, eighteen miles from Craig's Creek, a branch of the James River, about four miles below present Millsborough, Virginia. It had a garrison of two hundred and fifty men. Major Lewis wrote to William Preston, August 27, 1757, from Dickinson's Fort, that the governor had given him permission "to dispose of your and Dickinson's companies as I think best for the protection of the poor inhabitants." And Washington, from Winchester, wrote about Fort Dickinson to Dinwiddie, November 9, 1756, in the same letter in which he referred to Fort Ashby.

(16) Fort Dinwiddie<sup>39</sup>

Fort Dinwiddie, (known also as Warwick's Fort, Hog's Fort, and Byrd's Fort), stood in Augusta County, in what is now Bath County, Virginia, on the Irwin place on Jackson's River, fourteen miles from Brackenridge's fort on the same stream. Its garrison varied from sixty to one hundred men. Washington wrote to Captain Hog of the Virginia Regiment, July 21, 1756:

"As the Assembly has voted a chain of forts to be built on the frontiers, the Governor has ordered out the militia of Augusta to assist you in erecting them . . . to the southward of Fort Dinwiddie, extending the line towards Mayo River as directed by the Assembly."

He was to make use of his own company of men and of the militia he might raise, "except about 30 private wh. you are to leave under the Col. and of Lt. Bullett, at Fort Dinwiddie. . ." Fort Dinwiddie was visited by Wash-

<sup>38</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 372, 376; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Draper MSS., Preston papers, 14Q158; Journals, 1756-1758, p. 462; Hamilton, vol. i, pp. 109, 235, vol. ii, pp. 53, 72.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 92-34, 103, 106-8, 109, 137-8, 151, 261, 286-7, vol. ii, pp. 15, 135, 200, 201.



ington, Colonel Buchanan, and party in the fall of 1755. Dinwiddie had previously visited it on September 22, 1755, and he had always considered it a strong position.<sup>40</sup> Captain Nog wrote to Washington from Fort Dinwiddie, September 23, 1755: "... as to provisions there is not any in the fort in case it should be besieged, there is no salt to cure any, or even to season the fresh meat till it comes up from Fredericksburg. Maj'r Lewis has engaged about 24 days provisions, but he has no money to leave with me to purchase more, neither should I incline to take the trouble for a sett of men who repay such services with scandalous reflections."

(17) Fort at Draper's Meadows<sup>41</sup>

Dinwiddie wrote to Colonel Clement Read on September 8, 1756: "Give Starlicker 100 (£) to qualify him to take his Company and build a little stockade fort at Draper's Meadows, and take his receipt for it."

(18) Dunlap's Fort<sup>42</sup>

Our information is very meager regarding this fort.

Captain Preston wrote to Major Lewis, October 29, 1757, that he had "an order of Court to be at Dunlap's fort this week to take a list of the inhabitants." Two Cartwell children, he says, were taken from this fort "last Thursday." Preston asks Lewis for an interview on Lewis' way to Fort Loudon.

40 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 133.

41 Din. Pap., vol. ii, p. 503.

42 Draper MSS., Preston papers, 1757.



*Pitt*  
(19) Fort ~~duquesne~~<sup>43</sup>

The Ohio Company had a trading post at the "forks of the Ohio" as early as 1750. Captain Trent was sent out in 1753 to fortify the place. He had, however, not completed his defenses before the French from Monrovia north of him swooped down in overwhelming numbers upon him and compelled him to evacuate the place. They finished the fortification he had begun and named it Fort <sup>du</sup>quesne, in honor of the governor-general of Canada. The French held this important point until the time of General Forbes' expedition against it in 1758, when the French and Indians evacuated and burned it upon the approach of the English. The English erected a stronghold there and renamed it Fort Pitt, out of gratitude to the great premier who had helped so directly to make their success possible. The city of <sup>now</sup>Pittsburg has grown at this strategic point.

(20) Fort Edwards.<sup>44</sup>

Fort Edwards was a stockade fort situated on or near the site of the present village of Cayon Bridge, on Cayon River, in present Hampshire County, West Virginia. From Fort Edwards, on April 18, 1756, Captain John Mercer, with one hundred men<sup>45</sup> of Colonel's Regiment went in pursuit of a body of thirty or forty Frenchmen and Shawanese Indians known to be in the vicinity. The result was an ambushade in which Captain Mercer and all but six of his men were killed and scalped. Washington, who was then at Winchester, upon

<sup>43</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, description of, vol. ii, p. 17; strength of, vol. ii, p. 37, 39; fall of, vol. ii, pp. 114, 116; garrison of, vol. ii, p. 120; vol. ii, p. 192; vol. vii, p. 30, 215; vol. ix, p. 3, 433; Lin. sup., vol. i, p. 113, 135, 487, and essays, vol. ii, p. 113, 325, 376; Journals, 1753-1755, p. 221; ibid., 1756-1758, p. 351, 353; Hamilton, vol. i, p. 70

<sup>44</sup> Hamilton, vol. i, pp. 212, 243, 247, vol. ii, p. 72, 16, 111; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 203-9.

<sup>45</sup> J. Kercheval, History of the Valley, (ed. 1877), p. 132, says thirty men were under Captain Mercer.



hearing of Mercer's fate, wrote Lord Fairfax, county-lieut. of Frederick County, urging him to order out militia for the defense of the border settlements. He said to Fairfax, April 1., 1756: "Unless I can throw some ammunition into Edwards's Fort to night, the remainder of our party, and the inhabitants that are there, will more than probably fall a sacrifice to the Indians. . ." But to rely upon the militia of Frederick County, Washington termed "an unhappy reliance." <sup>46</sup>

(21) Fort Evans<sup>47</sup>

Fort Evans was a stockade situated two <sup>48</sup>miles south of Martinsburg, at the head of what is called Big Spring, in Berkeley County, West Virginia. It was built by John Evans, in the fall of 1755, but not completed until the spring of the following year. Scarcely was it completed when, in 1756, the Indians made an incursion into the vicinity, and the people, among them the founders of Martinsburg, found refuge in this fort. The Indians burned the house of the brother of the builder of the fort. The garrison left the fort to bury a man by the name of Kelly, whom the Indians had killed, and in their absence the fort was attacked. The heroic conduct of Mrs. Evans, wife of the builder of the fort, saved it from capture and the women and children within from massacre.

<sup>46</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 248.

<sup>47</sup> S. Kercheval, History of the Valley (ed. 1853), p. 94-95; Mier, History of Martinsburg, and Berkeley County, p. 39; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 209.

<sup>48</sup> Kercheval, p. 94 says three miles.





(22) Farley's Fort<sup>49</sup>

Thomas Farley from Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1764, obtained a tract of land near Crump's Bottom, in the southern part of what is now Summers County, West Virginia, and erected a fort on the north bank of the New River, near what is known as "Warford." This fort was further west than either McNeill's Fort or Fort William, the latter on the Catawba branch of the James.

(23) Fort Sauquier<sup>50</sup>

From here, while commanding a company at the place, John Buchanan and Lieutenant Joseph McDowell loaned flour and beef to sundry individuals. Their "account against the country", (1753-4) is given in the Preston papers.

(24) Fort Frederic<sup>51</sup>

In May, 1756, Governor Sharpe and his assembly had come to temporary agreement and the assembly had voted £40,000 for his Majesty's service. £11,000 of this sum were to be appropriated to the building of a fort on the frontier, but not beyond North Mountain. The fort constructed was called Fort Frederic, and was situated on the north side of the river at the point where the seventy-eighth meridian crosses the Potomac River. Washington says:<sup>52</sup> "It was a work of considerable magnitude, situated on an eminence about 500 yds. from the Potomac River, of a quadrangular form, and constructed of durable materials."

49 J. M. Callahan, Centennial History of West Virginia, p. 19; D. L. Johnston, A History of the Middle New River Settlements, p. 14.

50 Draper MSS., Preston papers, 24, 5, 3, 9, 14, 15, 18.

51 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 250; McAden, History of Maryland, vol. i, p. 305.

52 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 250.



(25) Fort Frederick <sup>53</sup>

Fort Frederick stood on the New River, at the river, the vicinity of Ingles' ferry, and not on the Monocacy as Taylor and Withers would have it, says Dr. Lyman C. Draper.<sup>54</sup> Major Andrew Lewis' men rendezvoused there for the Big Sandy River (or Sandy Creek) expedition in the early part of 1756. There were about three hundred forty-six men in the army including one hundred thirty Cherokees.

(26) Fort Sarman <sup>55</sup>

This stockade was situated on the South branch of the Potomac, about one mile above Hanging Rock, and three miles north of what is now Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia. It was built at the beginning of the French and Indian war by William Sarman who, with Nimrod Ashby, was killed by a band of Delaware Indians on Jersey<sup>56</sup> Mountain in 1764. Many atrocities occurred in this vicinity.

(27) Captain Galloway's Fort <sup>57</sup>

Captain Galloway's fort was situated on Smith's River, fifteen miles from Captain Harris' Fort on the Sage River, and had a garrison of twenty men.

<sup>53</sup> Journals, 1756-58, pp. 269, 330, 395, 426; Draper MSS., Livingston Papers, 1894-123; *ibid.*, Frontier Wars MSS., vol., iv, pp. 1-3.

<sup>54</sup> Draper MSS., 101-8.

<sup>55</sup> Kercheval, History of the Valley (ed. 1873), pp. 120, 129, 170, 181; W. Bellows, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Eastern Virginia, p. 212; Peyton, History of Augusta County, pp. 117-118; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 210.

<sup>56</sup> So named from its being first settled up people from New Jersey.

<sup>57</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372.



(28) Fort George <sup>58</sup>

Fort George was a small stockade fort located on the east bank of the South Branch of the Potomac River, opposite the present town of Hagerstown, in Grant County, West Virginia. It was built about the year 1754, presumably by Job Melton and his brothers. In 1756, one of the brothers, John named De Lay, and two others who had left the fort to make a seasonal trip, were killed and scalped. Job Melton, badly wounded, escaped to the fort. Soon after, a man of the name of Lowers was killed near by, so it was in this vicinity that eight Indians attacked the camp of Daniel Bingham, who made a heroic defense. He killed six of the, the seventh saving himself by flight.

(29) Fort Harness <sup>59</sup>

Fort Harness was eighty-one miles west of Fort Mifflin and had a garrison of seventeen men. A council of war, presided over by Captain Thomas Magruder, was held there on August 10, 1756.

(30) Hickey's Fort <sup>61</sup>

One passed Hickey's Fort on the way to the Mingo Fort.

(31) Captain Harris' Fort <sup>62</sup>

Captain Harris' Fort was located on Mingo River, and in Washington's plan for the forts drawn up in 1757, it occupied the most southern position in the line. Washington suggested a garrison of twenty men each for Perry's, Galloway's and Harris' forts.

58 Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 210.

59 Archeval, History of the Valley, p. 110, 2nd section.

60 Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, p. 21-2; vol. ii, p. 20.

61 *History of Southwest Virginia*,  
Lancaster, p. 33.

62 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 172.



(32) Fort Hedges <sup>63</sup>

Fort Hedges was a small stockade on the north side of the creek on the road now leading from Martinsburg to Berkeley Springs, Berkeley County, West Virginia. Many Indian settlements occurred in this vicinity.

(33) Captain Hog's Fort <sup>64</sup>

Captain Hog's Fort was situated on the Roanoke River, twenty-six miles from Captain Perry's Fort and had a garrison of one hundred fifty men.

(34) Fort Howewell <sup>65</sup>

Fort Howewell was situated on the South Branch of the Potomac, but the exact location is not definitely known. On April 24, 1754, Colonel Washington enclosed to Governor Dinwiddie a letter which, he says, "was just sent to me from Fort Howewell, on the South Branch. They have had an engagement there, with the French and Indians, the particulars of which you will see by the enclosed. Captain Sagoner, with a party of his men, joined them next day and went in pursuit of the enemy, but could not come against them." The name of the fort may have been suggested, thinks Vergil N. Lewis, by that of the British sloop, "Howewell," visiting the waters of Virginia at that time.

63

Kercheval, History of the Valley (ed. 1873), p. 115; De Raas, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, p. 204; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 210.

64 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372; Hamilton, vol. i, p. 24

65 Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 204; vol. ii, pp. Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 210-11.





(35) Fort at Hugh Mason's Mill<sup>66</sup>

The fort at Hugh Mason's Mill was near Upper Arnet, in present Pendleton County, West Virginia.

(36) John Mason's Fort.<sup>67</sup>

John Mason's Fort was situated near present Salem, Hancock County, Virginia, twenty miles from Voss' Fort, and referred to as "John Mason's on the south side of Roanoke." It had a garrison of thirty men.

(37) Keller's Fort.<sup>68</sup>

Keller's Fort is mentioned by DeHaas as being about fifteen miles from Powell's Fort. Both were some ten miles from the present Woodstock, Virginia.

(38) Fort Lewis.<sup>69</sup>

Our records for this fort are extremely fragmentary. The Preston Papers contain many references to Fort Lewis, chiefly receipts for money, services, and provisions. The detached entries run as follows: Captain William Preston's receipt from Robert Hall, August 4, 1757, for 27s. for twenty-seven days' service at Fort Lewis (63466); James Shaw's receipt to Captain William Preston, August 11, 1757, for £1 as pay for patrolling at Fort Lewis; also 14s. 6d. for salt and the use of a horse for two days (63468); William Stewart's receipt to William Preston, August 12, 1757, for 10s. for carrying provisions to Fort Lewis (63424); James Miller's receipt to Captain William Preston, August 27, 1757, for £1 16s. for thirty-six days' service at Fort Lewis. (63469) The receipt is witnessed by Thomas Lloyd and signed by a mark, as are many of the receipts in the Preston Papers; Edward Mills' re-

66 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251.

67 Ibid., vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Hamilton, vol. i, pp. 306-7, 306.

68 DeHaas, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Southwest Virginia, p. 205.

69 ~~Draper MSS.~~ Preston Papers, possession.



receipt to William Preston, September 17, 1757, for 6s. for six days' work at Fort George (64419); John Miller's receipt to William Preston, September 17, 1757, for 10s. for ten days' work at Fort George (64419); John Rile's receipt to William Preston, September 20, 1757, for 6s. for six days' work at Fort George (64486); Robert Knox's receipt to William Preston, September 20, 1757, for 9s. for nine days' work at Fort George (64420); Michael Millfont's receipt to William Preston, September 20, 1757, for 14s. 4d. for provisions delivered at Fort Lewis. This statement is witnessed by Loftis Mullin (64434); Philip Thagen's receipt to William Preston, September 22, 1757, for 5s. for six days' work at Fort Lewis (64420); James Knox's receipt to William Preston, September 25, 1757, for 10s. 6d. for provisions delivered to Sergeant Mearns at Fort Lewis (64435); William Black's receipt to William Preston, October 3, 1757, for 34s. for pay as a soldier at Fort Lewis (64470); John Davies' receipt to William Preston, October 5, 1757, for 3 13s. 4d. for fifty-five days' pay as a corporal at Fort Lewis (64469); Charles Gilman's receipt to William Preston, October 5, 1757, for 19s. 6d. in payment for work at Fort Lewis (64435); John Jordan's receipt to William Preston, October 12, 1757, for 1 13s. for thirty-three days' service as a soldier at Fort Lewis (64491); William Wilson's receipt to William Preston, October 12, 1757, for 2s. for four turnips delivered at Fort Lewis (64437); also, same to same, October 12, 1757, for 2s. for forty-two days' service as a soldier at Fort Lewis (64470); John Jackson, sr.'s receipt to William Preston, October 13, 1757, for 4 5s. for eighty-five days' service as a soldier in his company prior to May 1, 1757 (64494); George Wilson's receipt to William Preston, October 13, 1757, for 12 17s. 2d. for provisions delivered to Sergeant Mearns at Fort Lewis (64438); Samuel Bright's receipt to William Preston, (1757), for 1 10s. for thirty days' service as a soldier at Fort Lewis. The transaction is witnessed



(38) Fort Lewis (3000 feet)

by Adam Jordan. (64472); in his report's receipt to William Preston, (1757), for £3 18s. 3d. for fifty-nine days' pay, as a sergeant at Fort Lewis prior to May 1, 1757 (64472)

(39) Looney's Fort 70

Looney's fort was situated at the mouth of Looney's Creek, at Looney's Ferry, on the James River, where, according to the Jeffers and Bray map of 1751, "The Great Road from the Yadkin River thro Virginia to Philadelphia distant 435 miles," crossed the river. Andrew Lewis wrote to Governor Linsiddle in June, 1753, that he had "Ordered ten men to Looney's fort on James River." In the summer of 1751, a party of about sixty Shawanese Indians penetrated the settlements on the James River, avoided this fort, and killed and plundered the people in the vicinity of Lurgatory Mountain and Lurgatory Creek.

(40) Fort Loudoun 71

Fort Loudoun was a strong fort built by Colonel Washington in 1756. It stood near the present town of Winchester, Virginia, -- the place in those days sometimes known as Frederick town. This fort had a long and remarkable history. It commanded the lower Shenandoah Valley and lay in the path of the Indian trails and the "Philadelphia wagon Road" running north and south through

70 Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 142121-123; others, A. S., Chronicles of Border Warfare, p. 67.

71 Lin. Pap., vol. ii, pp. 525, 526, 572, 313; Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 235, 427; vol. ii, pp. 21; Meritt, Treaties at Large, vol. vii, pp. 32, 257, 258; C. Campbell, History of Virginia, p. 443, 474; Verneval, History of the Valley, (ed. 1869), p. 11. Sandridge, 2306, History of Shepherdstown, p. 42; Hamilton, vol. ii, pp. 21, 32, 31; vol. iii, p. 137.



Virginia. It was important to the settlement of the western Virginia frontier, particularly for the frontier territory of Frederick County.

It was here that Washington made his headquarters in the critical years on the Virginia frontier. "Winchester", Washington said in 1756, "is the centre, as it were, of all the forts. . . It also lies in a wide open land that has suffered more than any other from the incursions of the enemy." Charles Campbell, the historian says, "Fort Loudoun was erected at Winchester, the key of that region, under his (Washington's) superintendence."<sup>72</sup> It was a square with four bastions; the batteries mounted twenty-four guns; a well was sunk, mostly through a bed of limestone; the barracks were sufficient for four hundred and fifty men. Vestiges of this fortification still remain. Winchester, after the erection of Fort Loudoun, increased rapidly, owing to its being the rendezvous of the Virginia troops; in 1756 it contained two hundred houses."

(41) Fort Loudoun

(2) — This fort was built in 1756 by Andrew Lewis of Virginia on the Holston River, one hundred and fifty miles beyond the western settlements of North Carolina, and thirty miles southwest of Knoxville. It stood in the upper Cherokee country, and was erected at a cost of £7000; of this amount the King contributed £1000 and the provinces the remainder. When the Cherokee war broke out in 1758, the fort was besieged by the Indians under

Colonel William Byrd of Virginia was dispatched in 1758 with a force to the relief of the garrison but by the time he had got no further than and in disheartenment gave up the attempt. The Indians finding the starving party to surrender with a promise of good treatment. As usual, the promise was broken and the luckless band of men and women were scattered in

72

The act of the House of Burgesses, March 12, 1756, is given in Hamilton's Letters to Washington, vol. i, p. 202.





characteristic Indian fashion. The unfortunate part, and the account in the order collection is a appalling record of the wretched affair. This fort was built by Virginia because in 1704, and for many years afterwards, the settlement boundary of Virginia was still in doubt. All settlements on the Holston River in the 1700s were regarded as within Virginia territory.

(41) Fort McKenzie <sup>73</sup>

Fort McKenzie was located on the South branch of the Potomac. Its exact location has not been ascertained. Captain Robert McKenzie who was stationed here and whose name was given to the fort, commanded the 11th company in the Virginia regiment. Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Captain Robert Stewart, also of the Virginia regiment, that he was "glad to hear that Lane got safe into Captain McKenzie's fort and their skirmish was the necessity of detachments from all the forts to be out in hanging parties, which at times may probably find some of the enemy in their lurking places."

(42) McNeill's (or McNeal's) Fort. <sup>74</sup>

This defense was situated in eastern present Montgomery County, Virginia, between Fort William and Captain Campbell's fort, thirteen miles from either. Its garrison was thirty men.

<sup>73</sup> Dinwiddie, vol. ii, p. 720; Lewis, Report of Activities, p. 211.

<sup>74</sup> Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Hamilton, vol. ii, pp. 305-307.



(44) Fort at ...

Fort Laidstone the first of the Laidstone Fort situated on the ... of the ... River on the bluff on the lower part at the mouth of the Great ... River, in what is now Morgan County, West Virginia. It was ... five miles from the "Fort at Parker" ... the South branch of the Potomac at one time and had a garrison of one hundred and twenty-five men. It is named on Washington's Map of the Upper Potomac (1756). Governor Dinwiddie instructed Colonel Washington, May 18, 1757, to station Capt. in Robert Stewart of the Virginia regiment at Fort Laidstone with a garrison of seventy men. This order was carried out, but Washington soon thereafter sent Captain and his company elsewhere and Governor Dinwiddie later approved this action. Captain Stewart had been at Braddock's defeat, had helped to carry Braddock off the field, and was with the General when he died. Fort Laidstone was considered to be a sufficiently important post to be selected as one of the seven forts to which the Virginia regiment was distributed at the reorganization of that body in 1757.

(45) Fort at Matthew Hargy's

This defense was situated on the Bull Pasture River, in the northern part of present Highland County, Virginia, twenty miles from Trout Creek and eighteen miles from Captain Miller's Fort. Its garrison was fifty ...

75 Sparks, Writings of Washington, vol. ii, pp. 110, 476; Di. Pap., vol. ii, pp. 622, 654; Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 236-237, 308, 319-320, 325-326; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 211.

76 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 307-8.



(46) Mayo's Fort<sup>77</sup>

Mayo's Fort was not far from the New River and was the first fort built by Captain Robert Wade marched with thirty-five men "in order to take a range to the New River in search of our enemy Indians." Mayo's Fort was passed on one's way west to the Mayo's Fort.

(47) Captain John Miller's Fort<sup>78</sup>

Our records for Captain John Miller's Fort are meagre. The fort stood on Jackson's River between Matthew Hunter's Fort and Fort Linville, about eighteen miles from either. Major Andrew Lewis ordered Captain William Preston, November 27, 1756, to march sixty fresh militia "Draughts" to Miller's Fort and relieve the garrison already there. On August 20, 1757, Daniel Kidd gave a receipt to William Preston for 17s. for seventeen days' work at "Miller's Fort on Jackson's River." The receipt is witnessed by Thomas Lloyd. And on October 5, 1757, John Dvaies acknowledged the receipt from William Preston of £2 1s. for forty-one days' service as a soldier at Fort Miller. In the same year James Eschert acknowledged receipt from William Preston of 3s. for three days' labor at Fort Miller. Washington, Colonel Buchanan, and their party visited Miller's Fort in the fall of 1756.

<sup>77</sup> Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 1741-51, p. 12, 61.

<sup>78</sup> Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 447-451; Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 1 1177, 11219, 70, 77, 78; Hamilton, 11219, 11220; Washington, vol. i, pp. 303-4.



(46) Fort Mearly<sup>77</sup>

Fort Mearly was a small stockade fort on the equon river, now in Berkeley County, West Virginia. It was attacked and captured at daybreak, September 17, 1786, by a band of Indians who massacred the garrison, and then carried away a number of prisoners from the vicinity. Among these prisoners was Isabella Stockton, a little girl ten years old. Her story, as given by Samuel Kercheval, is<sup>as</sup> remarkable as it is interesting and romantic. Sometime after her return from captivity she became the wife of Colonel William McCleery, prominent in the early history of Monongalia County. The story of her captivity has been a theme of exciting interest around the fire-sides of homes in and about Martinsburg for a hundred and fifty years, says Vergil A. Lewis.

(47) Fort Necessity.<sup>78</sup>

Fort Necessity, a rude fort, earthen breastworks, hurriedly thrown up, was constructed near the "Crossing of the Youghiogony" by Washington in 1754. The situation of the fort, termed by Washington "a charming field for an encounter," is described in his letter to Governor Lincolne from Great Meadows, dated May 27, 1754.<sup>79</sup> Near here Cameronville was killed May 28. The French attacked in force on \_\_\_\_\_ and Washington was obliged to capitulate. The French destroyed the defenses of the place

<sup>77</sup> Lewis, Report of the lives, p. 211-12.

<sup>78</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. 1, pp. 71, 72.





(48) Fort Ohio<sup>80</sup>

Fort Ohio was a blockhouse situated at the present town of Sidely, Mineral County, West Virginia. It was built in 1750 as a fortified store-house for the Ohio Company, and stocked with \$4000 worth of merchandise purchased in London for the Indian trade of the Ohio. This blockhouse is shown on a sketch map in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," volume v, page 577, and the "Fort of the Ohio Company" appears on the Fry and Jefferson map of 1751. Governor Dinwiddie wrote Governor Charles of Maryland, September 5, 1754, as follows: "I have ordered Colonel Innes to take possession of the Ohio Company's warehouse which will be a very good magazine, and we had better repair it than begin to build. I have directed a breast work, and the great guns to be mounted for Defense; and, if they can build a shed around it, (it) may be proper for the soldiers to lodge in." <sup>81</sup>

(49) Fort at Larker's <sup>82</sup>

This defense was situated on the South branch of the Potomac, ten miles from Fort Asby, on the same stream, and had a garrison of thirty men.

(50) Fort Patterson's <sup>83</sup>

Fort Patterson's was located on the South branch of the Potomac. Some mischief was done there in April, 1758, but it was captured, by two Indians, and Captain Chew pursued and killed them. Both of the supposed in-

<sup>80</sup> Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 212;

<sup>81</sup> Substantiating the same account is found in Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 212.

<sup>82</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372.

<sup>83</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. ii, p. 1; Brewer, 1850, 18150; Hamilton, vol. ii, pp. 321, 302; vol. ii, p. 1, 1.



lians proved to be well-known white men, who had dressed and painted in Indian style, "the more successfully," says Brainer, "to plunder and injure their neighbors."

(51) Paul's Fort <sup>34</sup>

Paul's Fort was a stockade fort "at the big spring near to Springfield." The whole Matthews and Maxwell settlement crowded into the fort in 1761, at the time that sixty Shawanese warriors made an incursion into the settlements on the James River and committed numerous outrages.

(52) Fort Mearsall <sup>35</sup>

Fort Mearsall was a stockade fort built by Job Mearsall on the site of what is now Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia, at the point where the road from Fort Loudoun west crossed the South Branch. Mearsall was one of the earliest settlers on the South Branch. "Mearsall's" is shown on Washington's map of Operations in Virginia, 1756. In the year 1754, Fort Mearsall was the chief base of supplies in Virginia on the south side of the River Potomac, says Lewis. In December of that year, Governor Dinwiddie ordered "All the garrisons of the Branch to evacuate their forts, and repair to Mearsall's," but this order was almost immediately countermanded. Fort Mearsall was considered an important place, and when the Virginia Regiment was re-located in 1757, Governor Dinwiddie instructed Colonel Washington, May 16, 1757, to

<sup>34</sup> A. C. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, p. 68.

<sup>35</sup> Hamilton, vol. i, p. 267; vol. ii, pp. 72, 96, 121; vol. iii, p. 69. Lewis, *Report of Archives*, p. 112-13.



station a garrison of forty-five men under Captain Robert Leake, at the fort. A month later, Lieutenant James Livingston wrote to Washington that he was endeavoring to halt friendly Indians at that place.

(53) Fort Peterson.<sup>86</sup>

Fort Peterson was a small stockade fort situated on the south branch of the Potomac, two miles above the mouth of the North branch in what is now Grant County, West Virginia. In 1756, the year in which provision was made for its erection, the northern boundary line of Augusta County passed through the mouth of the North Fork of the South branch, and all the valley of that river above that point lay in Augusta County. July 27, 1756, in compliance with an order of Governor Dinwiddie, a council of war was held at Augusta Court house, -- now Staunton, -- and it was unanimously resolved to erect a fort "at Peterson's on the South branch of Potomack near Mill Creek," two miles from the northern county line.

(54) Fort Pleasant<sup>87</sup>

Fort Pleasant was a strong fort, having cabins, palisades, and blockhouses. It was situated on the "Indian Old fields" about a mile and a half above the "Frough" on the South branch of the Potomac, in present Hardy County, West Virginia, twenty miles from Fort Defiance on the same stream. It was erected by Captain Thomas Warner under orders from Colonel Moring-

86

Madell's "Annals of Augusta Count," p. 50; Virginia Magazine History, vol. xv, pp. 247-251.

87 Ford, Writings of Washington, pp. 121, 125; Fiske, History of the Valley, pp. 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 122, 125, (first edition); Mulbert's Edition of "Washington's Journal of 1754," pp. 73, 75; "American Pioneer" vol. ii, (1842) pp. 33, 39, 40; Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 272; Lewis, Report of Archives, pp. 113-14.



ton in 1756. It had a garrison of 500 men. In its earlier years, it was frequently called, from its builders, Fort Van Meter, and later, after the founding of Moorefield, was often referred to as the "town fort" because of its proximity to it. "Fort Pleasant" is shown on Washington's map of the "Operations in Virginia," 1756. Samuel Kercheval, a local historian, visited the site in 1830 when "one of the block-houses, with port-holes was still standing, and the loss particularly sound." Around it was being a scene of barbarous warfare. Within a mile and a half, and in sight of its walls was fought, in 1756, the "Battle of the Crough," one of the bloodiest ever waged between the white and red men in the valley of the South Branch. The garrison from Fort Pleasant was largely slaughtered. The best account of this action is that written by Felix Henick and published in the "American Pioneer," Cincinnati, 1843. Another good account is that written by Dr. Charles Carle; and printed in Kercheval's "History of the valley," (1833), pages 98 and 100. An account of another bloody tragedy not far from Fort Pleasant is that of James S. Miles also given by Kercheval, page 101. Many other stirring scenes were enacted in this vicinity. George Washington was on the "Indian Old Fields" in 1747-8 when surveying land for Lord Fairfax, and again visited the spot September 27, 1764, when Fort Pleasant appears to have been still standing.

(55) Powell's Fort.<sup>88</sup>

Powell's Fort was a small fort about fifteen miles from Fairter's fortified house in the neighborhood of Mill Creek, about nine miles south of what is now Woodstock, Virginia. Meller's Fort was near enough to send to it for aid.

<sup>88</sup> W. DeHaas, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Virginia, p. 205; Kercheval, History of the valley, (ed. 1833), p. 133.





(56) Fort Prince George 39

Fort Prince George was an important fort which stood on the banks of the Savannah River near where Salem, Virginia, now stands. From this place Captain William Preston and his company set out on the Sandy Creek expedition, February 9, 1746. Captain Preston was later in command of this fort for a time. Fort George is mentioned frequently in the Preston papers, the statements referring as to the work about the fort, the value of services of that day, and the prices of commodities. These are some of the entries: John Carlisle, August 12, 1757, hands a receipt to William Preston for 17s. 3d. for six and one-half days' work at Fort George. (Preston papers, 64, 17); John Estill's receipt to William Preston, August 12, 1757, for 7s. for seven days' work at Fort George (Draeger, Preston papers, 64, 18); receipts likewise in 1757 and 1758 from John Kelley, Joseph Farlin, Samuel Montaney, John Prior, John Smith, William Stewart, Abraham Quincy, Joseph Bell, John Johnston, Edward Lewis, John Miller, John Fife, Robert Knox, Philip Whagen, John Hamilton, James McClinton, Thomas Charles, James Burnside, Hugh Bodkin, Josiah Cummings, John Davies, John Jackson, sr., John Miller, William Sharpe, William Black, John Corse, Richard Mills. (Draeger, MSS., Preston papers, 64, 16-137, passim); On July 2, 1758, John Vance gave his receipt to William Preston for £2 14s. 6d. for carrying flour from Staunton to the calf pasture and to Fort George (Preston papers, 64, 134). On October 5, 1757, John Davies received from William Preston £2 12s. 4d. for forty days' service as a corporal at Fort George prior to May 1, 1757, (64, 135). On



October 11, 1757, George Campbell gave William Smith a receipt for 2s. 6d. for a spade used in building Fort George. (MSA). Another entry (in 1757) is Richard Smith's receipt to William Smith for 7s. 6d. for a large beef at Fort George in November, 1755, (MSA130). There are many more receipts for ammunition, but they are valuable. We should be fortunate to be able to secure even so fragmentary a record for the other forts of our list.

(57) Fort Middle.<sup>90</sup>

Fort Middle was a small stockade fort on Lost River, in Hardy County, West Virginia. Near it, <sup>in</sup> the spring of 1756, a fierce and bloody battle was fought at the head of Caper River between a body of fifty Indians commanded by a French captain, and a company of twenty Virginia frontiersmen under Captain Jeremiah Smith. The Indians were defeated, Captain Smith killing the French officer with his own hands. He had in his possession a commission and instructions directing him to attack Fort Frederick in Maryland. A man named Chesmer was later killed by Indians at this fort.

(58) Fort Robinson.<sup>91</sup>

Fort Robinson was situated on the northern bank of Holston River and nearly opposite the upper end of the Long Island. It was built by Colonel Adam Stephen, 1760.

<sup>90</sup> Kercheval, History of the Valley, p. 93, 115; De Russ' History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, p. 204; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 214.

<sup>91</sup> Draper MSS., MS108.



(59) Fort Sellers<sup>92</sup>

Fort Sellers was a small stockade on the east side of Patterson's Creek and about four miles from the Potomac, in Mineral County, West Virginia. Here George Washington surveyed lands for Elias Sellers, April 1, 1756. Colonel Washington built this fort and referring to it in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, April 22, 1756, said: "A small fort which we have at the mouth of Patterson's Creek, containing an officer and thirty men guarding stores, was attacked suddenly by French and Indians; they were warmly received, upon which they retired." It is shown on Washington's map of "Operations in Virginia," 1756.

(60) Fort Septert.<sup>93</sup>

Fort Septert<sup>94</sup> was a strong fort, having cabins, palisades, and block-houses. It stood on the south fork of the South Branch of the Potomac, twelve miles northeast of the present Franklin, in Pendleton County, West Virginia. "It was besieged by Indians April 29, 1756, the attack continuing for three days. Thirty persons were in the fort; after two Indians had been killed, the garrison surrendered with the promise that the lives of all should be spared. The promise was broken. The savages rushed in, bound ten, and then twenty of the captives were seated in a row on a log, with an Indian standing behind each, who at a given signal sunk his tomahawk into the head of his victim; an additional blow or two dispatched them. The others were carried into captivity. Among them was James Dyer, then fourteen years of age. Two years later he es-

<sup>92</sup> Spark's, Writings of Washington, vol. ii, pp. 110, 115, 116; Dyer's Edition of "Washington's Journal over the Mountains, 1747-8" p. 42; Ibid., 1754, p. 69; and also printed in Loughmilk's History of Cumberland and Crabb's Expedition; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 214-15.

<sup>93</sup> James Dyer's account printed in Archeval, Hist. of the Valley, pp. 110, 111; Hening, vol. vii, p. 130; Howe, Hist. Coll. of Va., p. 428; Denham, p. 203. In the last named work this fort is a subject of illustration; Withers, Chron., pp. 65-67; Peyton, Hist. of Augusta County, pp. 116-117.

<sup>94</sup> Called by Withers, "Fort Livert", p. 65, et seq.



came from his captors when in the late 1600's they had set free Lane. A son of his, Colonel Melancthon Loper, was born shortly after the start of the century, West Virginia. The Indians burned the fort, but it was rebuilt by order of the Virginia Assembly. The attack was made on this fort the day after the massacre at Fort Upper Fract, Pendleton County."

(61) Fort Shepherd.<sup>95</sup>

Fort Shepherd was on the south bank of the Potomac River, near Old Black Horse Ford, where Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, West Virginia, now stands. It was a stone house, stockaded, on the site of the present Shepherd College State Normal.

(62) Stephen's Fort <sup>96</sup>

Stephen's Fort stood on Cedar Creek, ten or fifteen miles from Major Robert White's Fort near the Capon River in the North Mountain neighborhood. On this spot Lane's iron works were afterwards set up. It was the refuge of the Fawcett and other families near it after the massacre in June, 1754, of the people near White's Fort.

(63) Captain Perry's Fort <sup>97</sup>

This defense was situated on "Black Water", twenty-six miles from Captain Calloway's Fort on Smith's River, and had a garrison of twenty men.

(64) Fort Lrial.<sup>98</sup>

Fort Lrial was on Smith's River and was the "last brother" of the forts."

<sup>95</sup> Dandridge, Danske, Historic Shepherdstown, p. 121.

<sup>96</sup> Kercheval, (ed. 1833) p. 123.

<sup>97</sup> Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 372.

<sup>98</sup> Virginia Magazine of Hist. and Biog., vol. xv, pp. 248-51.





(85) Fort at Trout Rock<sup>99</sup>

The fort at Trout Rock was four miles south of present Arden, West Virginia, and the name is still preserved. Its garrison was fifty men.

(86) Fort Upper Tract.<sup>100</sup>

Fort Upper Tract, a stockade, was erected in 1756 under the direction of Colonel Washington. It stood a short distance west of the south branch of the Potomac at what is now known as "Upper Tract," Pendleton County, West Virginia. Colonel Washington writing Governor Dinwiddie on January 14, 1756, concerning the building of forts in the valley of the south branch, says: "I have now ordered Captain Wagner with sixty men to build and garrison two others (forts) at places I have pointed out high up the south branch." Writing the governor further on the same subject, under date of August 14th, ensuing, he said: "We have built some forts and altered others as far south on the Potomac waters as any settlers have been molested; and there only remains one body of inhabitants, at a place called Upper Tract, who need a guard. Further I have ordered a party", -- that is, a small garrison. The officer placed in command was Captain James Munlap, of Augusta County, Va. in 1756, and commanded a company in the Big Sandy Expedition. All went well here until April 27, 1758, when it was attacked by French and Indians, who captured and burned the fort,

<sup>99</sup> Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 243-4.

<sup>100</sup> Account in Virginia Gazette, of May 2, 1753; Ford, writings of Washington, vol. ii, pp. 125, 179; Crozier's "Wild in Colonial America," p. 26; Preston's "Manuscript Register" of persons killed, wounded and captured by Indians, from 1704 to May, 1760, in Library of Historical Societies; "Notes of John C. Brager," printed at p. 37 of "Frontiers' Edition of Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare"; Dinwiddie Papers, vol. ii, p. 213; Ford, writings of Washington, vol. i, p. 325; Bowie, report of 1760, p. 214-15.



and cast in 1702. The 1703-04 season saw the fall of the fort, the last siege to Fort Lequert and the last of the "winter of 1703-04" in connection with that fort. (Washington, at the time, placed on the list "about 300 persons killed and missing" at the two forts. (p. 100 "Fort of Settlement," Ford, *British Colonial History*, p. 1, p. 172).

(c)  $\text{CH}_3\text{COOH}$  or  $\text{C}_2\text{H}_4\text{O}_2$

Samuel Archibald in his History of the Valley Nation  
a fort on the South Branch of the Potomac, 100 miles above Orange.  
He also mentions another fort on the right bank of the same  
river. He gives a name to neither; but says that they had the  
same. Two Indian boys appeared before the fort sometime in 1777,  
on the banks, whereupon a party from the fort started out with the  
intention of capturing them. An Indian warrior made his appearance  
also and was shot down by Shadrach Wright. An ambuscade had been  
prepared by the Indians so a few of those who had gone forth for  
the prisoners were killed.

1. Hornum, *History of the Valley* (ed. 1875), p. 103; Lewis, *Report of Archives*, p. 217.



### ( ) Voss' Fort

Voss' Fort stood on the ~~headwaters~~ of the Roanoke River, about ten miles west of present Christiansburg, Virginia. Washington says it was '60 miles from Luney's Ferry on the James River.' The name is spelled variously Vaulx, Vause, Vauss, Vaux, and Vauces. This defense was strongly built and guarded an important pass. It was the nearest place of refuge for settlers on the New River. Andrew Lewis (?) wrote to Governor Dinwiddie(?) that on the 26th of June, 1756, a large body of Indians took the fort, burned it, and killed the inmates, twenty-four hours before aid was at hand. Andrew Lewis wrote further to Governor Dinwiddie in June, 1756;

"Captain Ephraim Vause has been a very great Sufferer by the late unhappy affair, his Wife & two Daughters two Servants & one Negro all either killed or taken Prisoners, his Fort (Raised at his own Expense) and Barn with the other Buildings on his Plantation Burned to Ashes and above eighty head of Cattle & horses killed and Carried away. . ."

Lewis strongly advised that Voss' Fort be rebuilt. This was done and Captain Peter Hog had charge of the work. The plans called for a fort one hundred feet square in the clear, with stockades at least ten feet high. It was to be garrisoned by seventy men. Dinwiddie thought that even three forts would not be too many for such an important section of the frontier. Hale gives a brief account of Mrs. Ingles' presentiment that the fort would be attacked, of her husband's removal of her to "another Fort ... down below the Blue Ridge, and not far from the 'Peaks of Otter'," and of the early destruction of the



2  
(70) Voss' Fort (continued)

fort.

3  
(70) Fort Warden

Fort Warden (sometimes spelled Warion) was a small stockade fort that stood not far from the present town of Wardensville, Hardy County, West Virginia. Near this place on November 11, 1749, Washington surveyed for William Warden, the builder of the fort, "a certain tract of waste and ungranted land." And at this place, in 1758, William Warden and a Mr. Taff were killed by Indians who burned the fort.

4  
(71) Fort Washington

We know little of Fort Washington except that David Robinson wrote "from the Fort on Catawba" to William Preston, September 14, 1755: "Mr. Stringham has returned from Fort Washington once more, and now assumes to himself the title of Captain, however we have metamorphosed him into a common soldier, until you return."

2  
Ford, Writings of Washington, vol. i, pp. 356, 442; Sparks, Writings of Washington, vol. ii, p. 190; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xv, pp. 247-251; Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, pp. 57, 58, 62; Johnston, History of the Middle New River Settlements, p. 32; Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1756-58, pp. 439, 454, 458, 501, 502, 505; *ibid.*, 1758-61, pp. 221, 229; Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 100131-135; 87249; Hamilton, Letters to Washington, vol. i, pp. 306-7, 347; *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 15, 48, 53, 57, 72, 96.

Tone's Edition of Washington's "Journal of my Journey over the Mountains, 1747-48," p. 87; Kercheval, History of the Valley, p. 115; De Haas, History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, p. 204; Lewis, Report of Archives, p. 216.

4  
Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1756-58, p. 504; Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 10088.





(72) White's Fort

White's Fort was a small fort, or palisaded house, built by Major Robert White, and stood near the Caron River. It was an asylum in times of danger for people of the North Mountain neighborhood. Near here Owen Thomas, who was riding about the vicinity to warn the settlers of an Indian attack, was shot and scalped in July, 1763. Near here also in June of the following year twenty-two or twenty-three persons belonging to the Jones and Clouser families were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The escape of Mrs. Thomas, widow of Owen Thomas, is both interesting and remarkable. It is related by Kercheval in his *History of the Shenandoah Valley*.

(73) Fort William<sup>6</sup>

Fort William stood on the Catawba Branch of the James River, thirty-six miles from Captain Hog's Fort on the Roanoke River, and in **present** Botetourt County, Virginia. Washington allotted to it a garrison of seventy-five men. As we know, Washington made an inspection of the Virginia Frontier forts in the fall of 1756. Writing from Halifax to Governor Dinwiddie, October 10, 1756, Washington informed him that Captain Preston had conducted him to Colonel Buchanan's house at Luney's Ferry and that Colonel Buchanan told him "with very grave concern, that it was not in his power to raise men; for that, three days before, some of the militia in a fort (Fort William) about

<sup>5</sup> Kercheval, *History of the Valley* (ed. 1833), pp. 130-133.

<sup>6</sup> Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii, pp. 190-191; Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 100131-133; 10038, 146.



(17) Fort William (continued)

fifteen miles above his house, at the head of Catawba Creek, commanded by one Colonel Nash, were attacked by the Indians, which occasioned all that settlement to break up totally, even as far as the ferry at Luney's (on James River); that he had ordered three companies to repair thither, and march against the enemy, and not one man came, except a captain, lieutenant, and seven or eight men from Bedford." Fort William stood guard over an important pass. Andrew Lewis wrote to Governor Dinwiddie (?) in June, 1756, that he had "Ordered Capt. Christian with a Company to take Possession of Fort William, which was built by Captain Preston in a very convenient Pass . . . ." From "Fort on Catawba" (Fort William). David Robinson wrote William Preston (?) on October 14, 1755, describing conditions on the frontier. The Preston Papers also contain a statement of an account against "The Country" for provisions delivered at Fort William in Augusta County, Virginia. The account is filed by William Ralston.

(74) Fort Williams<sup>7</sup>

Fort Williams was a stockade fort situated on the South Branch of the Potomac two miles below Hanging Rock, Hampshire County, West Virginia. In July, 1764, a party of Delaware Indians having made an entry into settlements about Cedar Creek returned with a number of prisoners to the South Branch and encamped close to Hanging Rock. A party of men on their way back to Fort Williams discharged their rifles. This action frightened the Indians and they hastened

<sup>7</sup> The account by Major John White is given in Kercheval, History of the Valley (ed. 1833), pp. 130-1; Lewis, Report of Archives, pp. 216-7.



**FOLD OUT**



(66) Fort Williams (continued)

across the river, carrying their prisoners with them as best they could. Mrs. Owen Thomas, one of the victims, was carried down stream by the current, and having lodged against a rock she climbed on top of it and remained in that situation all night. The following morning she escaped to the shore, made her way to Fort Williams, and from there was taken to her home, only to find it had been burned, and to learn that her husband and several of her children had fallen victims of the Indians.

(75) Fort Wilson

Fort William was a small defense built on the Bull Pasture River, a gathering place in times of alarm for the people who lived in the vicinity. Major Andrew Lewis ordered Preston, November 23, 1756, to leave "a sergt. and twelve men at Wilson's Fort in the Bull Pasture."

(76) Fort Young<sup>9</sup>

According to Withers, Fort Young was located on Jackson River. This historian speaks of the "weakness of this fort." Our information about Fort Young is meagre although the Preston Papers contain a few references to it. Lewis wrote to Preston on October 28, 1757, that he would shortly arrive at Fort Young. Preston's letter to Lewis, October 29, 1757, intimates that Lewis must pass Captain Dunlap's Fort on his way to Fort Young.

<sup>8</sup> Draper MSS., Preston Papers, 10Q137.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 10Q162-3.





## APPENDIX II.

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 ILLINOIS V. DOCUMENTS
 

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Dinwiddie to Colonel George Washington, August 19, 1756 .....	
Minutes of a Council of War . . . Augusta Court House, July 27, 1756 . . . . .	
Dinwiddie's Report to the Lords of Trade, January, 1758 . . . . .	
Dinwiddie to Colonel John Duchanan, August 14, 1755 . . . . .	



GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COL. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 19th, 1756.

Sir:

Your L<sup>r</sup>e of the 4th I rec<sup>d</sup> and note its Contents. I observe you have been much engag<sup>d</sup> in settling the proper Places for the Chain of Forts propos<sup>d</sup> to be built, and I doubt not the Places you have pitched upon are the most proper, as you know the Situation of the Country, you are the best Judge thereof. With Concern I see the Rolls of Y<sup>r</sup> Companies, and I am sorry they are so difficient in No<sup>s</sup>; the Officers by no Means complied with their Promisses and Engagem<sup>ts</sup> when they rec<sup>d</sup> their Comissions, and the Draught from the Militia [is] much short of my Expectation; and indeed the laying of the fine of ten Pounds on those that w<sup>d</sup> not march out entirely defeated the Law, and was much against my Opinion, but I was glad of any law that had a prospect of augmenting the Forces, but even w<sup>th</sup> that Inconvenience the Affairs has been poorly conducted in the different Counties. The dastardly Spirits of our lower People and the want of proper Rule in the Officers of the different Counties has been of very bad Consequence to our Affairs. I approve of Y<sup>r</sup> Disposal of the two vacant Companies to Y<sup>r</sup> Self and Colo. Stephens. I shall be glad [if] the Draughts made after the return of the Militia be as you desire; those from Prince William, Fairfax and Culpeper to march directly to Winchester, and please write to the Command<sup>g</sup> Officer accordingly, as I



am so much hurried that I have not time; you may write in my Name. I am sorry for the Behaviour of the Militia that were w'th Lieut. Rutherford; the Officers are difficient in keeping them under strict Command. Till our Expedition is concerted to the Ohio Capt. Stewart's Troop must do Duty on foot, and there Pay must be reduced during that Time, and You may assure them as soon as the Troop is again form'd their Pay will be accordingly augmented as at first. The building of Forts is a necessary work, but the protecting the frontiers is more essential, therefore I w'd recommend as much as you possibly can to have Y'r Men at Call on any approaching Danger, tho' I fear it will be impracticable when divided at such a Distance, unless you appoint a proper Place for a general Rendeswouse on proper Alarms given, w'ch you are the only Judge of from y'r Knowledge of the Country. If you can enlist Servants agreeable to the Act of Parliament, the Mast'r of such Servants shall be paid for the time they have to serve in proportion to the first Purchase, but I think you sh'd be carefull not to enlist any Convicts, who, probably, may be fractious and bad Examples to the others, and I wish they may have the desired Effect, for I cannot think of any method to raise men till the Assembly meets, and that at present is very uncertain. I am glad you have thought of Lieut. McNeel, who, I believe, is a very deserving Man. As to Fort Cumb'l'd, it's a King's Fort and a Magazine for Stores, it's not in my Power to order it be deserted, and if we did, it w'd encourage the Enemy to be



more audacious when L'd London comes here, w'ch, I expect, will be about the 20th of Nov'r; he has full Power to do what he thinks proper, and a Representation to him will be regular. At present it must be properly supported w'th Men, and I think from the Plan of Y'r Forts one of them is not above ----- Miles distant from Fort Cumberland. I observe you mention Y'r Men want many Necessaries. I don't touch the publick Money. I shewed Y'r L're to the Speaker, and I suppose he will answer it. I told him that I think the Men sh'd be paid the full 8d. ~~7~~ Day w'th't any Deduction, w'ch is agreed to, and that the new Cloathing on Arrival be given them by way of Encouragement, and I hope this Stepp will raise their Spirits and engage them to the Discharge of their Dutys w'th Alacrity. If you had sent word w't they mostly wanted they might be purchas'd here. I suppose the Cloathing will be here before Christmas. If I hear of any Opp'ty I shall send you 2 Drums, but I suppose you may have the old ones mended, and the Associators had 2, w'ch were left at Winchester or Fredericksburg, w'ch you sh'd call for. I now write to Colo. Fairfax to pay you the Bala. in his H'ds of £600. he had of me. I know nothing of Capt. Gist's Acco'ts; probably they may be w'th the Comittee. I shall be glad to do him any good Offices in my Power. The Acco't Capt. McNeel writes you about the rangers in Augusta I believe is truth, and shall take Care when they are to be paid, having all Informations to the same Purpose. I believe you will not be Summoned on Kipp's Affair if





Witnesses sufficient with't you can be procur'd, as I shall be glad you were here about the 20th Nov'r, when I expect the Earl of Loudon. I desire you will order Lietu. Hall down here till the 14th of Octo'r, to be evidence ag'st Mr. Hedgesman, who has treated my Character in a Villainous Manner and w'th great Injustice, and I am determin'd to make an Example of him. A great Body of quakers waited on me in regard to their Friends w'th you, pray'g they may not be whiped; use them w'th Lenity, but as they are at their own Expence, I w'd have them remain as long as the other Draughts. I have had no proper Application in regard to the Militia that have enlisted, and if they do, I shall give little Attention to it, as from what you mention, they enlisted without any Compulsion, and took the Money with't objections or offering to return the same in 24 Hours. The Incorporating the Rangers in the Regiment will be very agreeable, if done w'th their Consent, and hope by Arguments you may prevail on them, for the Fund appropriated for paying them as rangers is exhausted; they will now receive 8d. ~~per~~ Day and a Suit of Cloaths, as soon as they arrive, with't paying for them. The Nottoway Indians are not return'd. I think they sh'd be p'd, to encourage the Tuscaroras to our Assistance. Mr. Timberlake, if he inclines to serve as a Volunteer, must wait the Course of Preferment with the other young Gent'n. I wrote fully to L'd Loudon about an Expedition to the Ohio, but his Attention to the Affairs in the No'ward is so great



that I cannot expect any thing of that kind to be done this Year, but when he comes here I shall have the Opportunity of speaking fully on that and several other Matters. I cannot tell how to prevent the Pennsylvania butchers' driving off our Cattle, unless you threaten them in a Military Manner. It's a Grievance that sh'd be amended, and therefore what present Steps you take in preventing it I will Support you therein, and no doubt Provisions must be purchased for the Regim't and the Forts. I shall speak to the Treasurer on that Subject, and a Commissary must be appointed. I shall, therefore, press the giving of Money to purchase Provisions of all kinds. I did hear of one Cherokee that was with the other Indians that took Vass's fort, and I understand there are Numbers of each different Tribe, and they assume the name of Allegany Indians. I have not heard from Maj'r Lewis since he left this [place]. I sent a Messenger to the Cherokees about 5 Weeks ago, and I expect his return very soon, and I hope he will bring Nothing but what may be agreeable. Pray cannot You procure a trusty Indian or two to the Twightees to endeavour to keep them in our Interest and to let them know the No. of War's the great King the other side of the Water has sent for our mutual Protect'n? Such a Message I conceive will be of great Service. I have order'd three forts in Hallifax and one in Bedford to be built by the Militia and Garrison'd by them some time. Colo. Stewart, of Augusta, propos'd and sent the Sketch for 14 Forts, to



be Garrison'd by 700 Men, but I took no Notice of it, waiting for Capt. Hogg's Report of what he thinks may be necessary, and to be managed with Frugality, for the People in Augusta appear to me so selfish that private Views and Interest prevails with them with't due consid't'n of the publick Ser'ce w'ch makes me much on my Guard with them. I have sent up a new Comission of the Peace for Frederick County and have wrote Lord Fairfax to aply to the Court for curtailing the No. of Tipling Houses, w'ch are of great Prejudice to our Men, and I hope this will have the desir'd Effect. I doubt not You sent the Drum about the Town forbiding them to trust Y'r Men or entertaining 'em in improper Hours; if guilty that you will take them on the Guard — this may probably terrify them. I doubt not you are strongly solicited for Men; on every Alarm y'r own Prudence must direct you in sending Parties out. I am weekly solicited from Augusta and the other frontier Counties to the So'ward, and I am obliged to write many L'res to the Comand'g Officers to assist the poor frontier Settlem'ts. I am convinc'd from the few of Men you have that it's difficult to give Attention to all Complaints and Solicitations. The Militia that Lord Fairfax has order'd to range about Conegochege may be continued as long as you may think they are absolutely necessary. I think I have fully answer'd Y'r L're, and in what I may be difficient Y'r own Prudence must supply. Warr against France was



proclaim'd here the 7th, and I order'd Mr. Walthoe to  
enclose you a Copy to be proclaim'd at the head of Y'r  
Company's, and be sent to fort Cumberland; in Case of  
Miscarriages I send you inclos'd a printed Copy. Pray  
God it may attended w'th Success in all our Operations  
at home and abroad. Have you order'd the Gunns at Rock  
Creeke to be brought to Winchester? Your Acc'ts, I  
think, are passed the Comittee, and I have given my  
Warrant for £5,000, I wish you health and Success in all  
Y'r Operations, and I remain,

S'r, y'r mo. h'ble Serv't.

P.S. - When the Draughts are discharged in Dec'r y'r  
Number of private Men will be very few. In Course there  
must be a reduction of Officers, as each Company sh'd  
not be less than 50, but I shall speak to you on this  
Head when you come here.

Dinwiddie Papers, II, 479-483.





11-01-11 11-01-11











































































[illegible]

























Memorandum to Col. (Genl.) Boone.

Williamsburg, August 14<sup>th</sup> 1755

Sirs:

Your Letter of the 3<sup>th</sup> I recd & am heartily sorry for the Death of Col.<sup>o</sup> Patton. It is a real surprize to me that the few Indians who have been in Augusta should have done (to) so great lengths in robbing & murdering y<sup>r</sup> people, when I consider y<sup>r</sup> Numbers, which if they had acted with Spirit & Resolution I think they could have destroy'd them all, & protected y<sup>r</sup> Women & Children, but I fancy there has been a general panic over the whole County; I am sorry the men you sent after the murderers did not come up with them - There is a Company of fifty men from Lunenburg (Lunenburg?) to come into y<sup>r</sup> County; y<sup>r</sup> own Company of Rangers of 50 men; another Company of 10 (40?) to be raised by C<sup>t</sup> Smith; with Capt. Lewis's Company, I think will be sufficient for the protection of your frontiers, with't calling out the militia, which is not to be done till great extremity."

I am sorry to hear from you that the militia is not so to be depended on or will they obey orders; which makes it obvious on they have not been properly disciplin'd, or kept under proper command, which on refusal, you should punish them according to Law. I think some good Bors wou'd soon find out the stalk (i.e) Places of the Indians, so that the Rangers may come y with them, which I recommend to be put in practice.

You have have had more Ammunition & Arms than all the other frontier Counties together, & so it is that I cannot supply you with any more. Last week I sent Col.<sup>o</sup> Lewis 200<sup>l</sup> for the use of the Rangers. The remainder of Lieut. Wright's people, I order them to join the Company immediately, their pay has been monthly paid & lies in Col.<sup>o</sup> Wood's Hands at Winchester, where their C<sup>t</sup> no





doubt will be d for it [unclear] men.

I have Let<sup>r</sup> from Col.<sup>O</sup> Lewis from [unclear] where he is doing his duty according to my orders to Col.<sup>O</sup> Patton, so I can not charge him with Contempt or Disobedience. I have done all in my power for the service of y<sup>r</sup> County, but if y<sup>r</sup> people will dastardly give up their families & interest to a barbarous Army without endeavouring to resist them, they cannot expect to be protected, without their own Assistance against these Brilitti.

I know not whether you or Col.<sup>O</sup> Lewis is the senior officer in y<sup>r</sup> County. The Date of y<sup>r</sup> Commissions will show that, & he that is senior must take the Charge of the Militia for some time, for I shall not at present appoint any Lieutenant. Col.<sup>O</sup> Patton had my orders to appoint Maj<sup>r</sup> Smith to Command the first Company of Rangers, but I find he did not do it; however he is now appointed Capt<sup>n</sup> of the second Company.

I cannot help the families deserting their habitations, if they will run away from themselves, leave their interests, those that remain to defend the County may hereafter be thought worthy of enjoying their habitations.

I am

Sirs

Your most noble serv<sup>t</sup>

Robt. Dismiddie

P. S. The Lieutenant of Counties (?) do not succeed in the Corps, but as the Gov<sup>r</sup> pleases he appoints. (?)

Col<sup>O</sup> Buchanan.



**FOLD OUT**

Handwritten notes at the top right of the page, possibly a title or header.

Main body of handwritten text, organized into several columns and rows, likely a list or table of data.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

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L I B R A R Y

Special Sources

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Manuscript

1

Draper Manuscripts

2

Preston Papers (A). (6 volumes). (A calendar of the series was published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1915. See pages, 1-147.) For the purposes of this study, see

Volume 1, 1731-1757,

Volume 2, 1758-1773,

Volume 3, 1757-1766, a military receipt book for Preston's and Buchanan's companies.

Virginia MSS (B). (16 volumes). (A calendar of this series was included in the above publication in 1915. See pages 147 et seq.). For this study, see volumes 1, 3, 4, 5, 14, 16.

Bedinger MSS (A). One volume.

Draper's life of Boone (F). (5 vols.). Volumes 1, 2, 5.

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Border Forays (D). (5 vols.). Volumes 1, 2.

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Brant Miscellanies (G). (3 vols.). Volume one.

(List continues)

1. See Descriptive List of the Manuscript Collections.





## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

1

Draper Manuscripts (continued)

2

George Rogers Clark MSS (J). (65 vols.). Volumes 1, 46, 57

George Rogers Clark Miscellanies (K). (5 vols.). Volume one.

Jonathan Clark Papers (L). (2 vols.). Volume one.

Draper's Historical Miscellanies (Q). ( 8 vols.). Volume 1, 5, 7. Volume 7 comprises clippings from English newspapers (1758-1801). The American items (found on pages 1-56) relate chiefly to military affairs during the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars. The English intelligence is quite miscellaneous in character. (List, 18).

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1. (Note continued). of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited by R. G. Thwaites. 1906.

See Calendar of the Preston and Virginia Papers. Calendar Series, Volume 1. Edited by M. . Quaife. 1915.

2. Explanatory:

Papers: The original documents of any person or group of persons, or those connected with any historical event.

MSS: Materials concerning a person, including both original documents and facts collected from descendants and other sources.

Notes: Unassorted materials concerning a person or event, collected by letters, personal interviews, etc.

Miscellanies: Miscellaneous printed material concerning a person or event.

The marginal pressmark indicates the location of the original document in the Draper Collection. The number before



the letters shows in which volume of the series the document occurs, the letters designate the series, while the number following the letters indicates the page or pages of the volume occupied by the document. To illustrate, the pressmark 10092 means that the document is found in the Preston Series, volume 1, page 92. This particular reference is to the list of the company of rangers of Captain William Preston, Augusta County, Virginia, giving date of enlistment, nationality, age, size, trade, and date of discharge or desertion. A. D. 1 page. Endorsed. July 16, 1755 to January 1, 1760. (Explanatory: A. D. is autograph document, A. D. S., autograph document signed, D. S., document signed).



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